

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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They Aren't Waiting	<i>Editorial</i>
Students Investigate Politics	<i>Edward W. Weidner</i>
Apathy—Our Fifth Column	<i>John N. Dumas</i>
Should Lawyers Be Citizens?	<i>Murray Seasongood</i>
20th Century Public Service.....	<i>Carl H. Chatters</i>
Legislatures Act on Youth Problems	512
Researchers Report on Natural Resources.....	521
Mr. Average Citizen Debates Planning	527
Ten Cities to Vote on P. R.....	533
Public Health Surveyed in Blue Earth County.....	535
Purchasing Agents Denounce Price Fixing	539
British Boundary Commission at Work	542

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Contents for October 1947

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS	486
EDITORIAL COMMENT	<i>Alfred Willoughby</i> 487
STUDENTS INVESTIGATE POLITICS.....	<i>Edward W. Weidner</i> 489
APATHY—OUR FIFTH COLUMN.....	<i>John N. Dumas</i> 494
SHOULD LAWYERS BE CITIZENS?.....	<i>Murray Seasongood</i> 497
20TH CENTURY PUBLIC SERVICE.....	<i>Carl H. Chatters</i> 503
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.....	510
NEWS IN REVIEW	
CITY, STATE AND NATION.....	<i>H. M. Olmsted</i> 512
RESEARCHER'S DIGEST.....	<i>John E. Bebout</i> 521
CITIZEN ACTION.....	<i>Elsie S. Parker</i> 527
PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.....	<i>George H. Hallett, Jr.</i> <i>and Wm. Redin Woodward</i> 533
COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP.....	<i>Elwyn A. Mauck</i> 535
TAXATION AND FINANCE.....	<i>Wade S. Smith</i> 539
LOCAL AFFAIRS ABROAD.....	<i>James E. Gates</i> 542
BOOKS IN REVIEW.....	546

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

The League's Business

League Conference Goes South

In recognition of the mounting civic ferment south of the Mason-Dixon line the National Municipal League is taking this year's National Conference on Government to Nashville, Tennessee, the farthest south in the League's 53-year history. The three-day meeting, November 12-14, will have headquarters at the Hermitage Hotel. The Hermitage, the Andrew Jackson nearby, and other hotels have set aside a generous number of single and double rooms with bath for League members, speakers and guests. Persons planning to attend the conference are advised to make their reservations as promptly as possible.

This second conference since Pearl Harbor meets while the postwar tide of local civic interest and activity is still rising. To meet the increasing demand for answers to the question "How can we do it?" the conference program will put even more than usual emphasis on how to make things happen. Sessions on the modernization of state constitutions, how to conduct a council-manager campaign, the technique of operating an effective year-round citizen organization, how cities can support themselves, city-county consolidation and other subjects are designed with a view to meeting specific needs of citizens trying to achieve progress in their own states and communities.

The keynote of the conference will be sounded at the opening luncheon, Wednesday, November 12, with a speech by Governor Alfred E. Driscoll of New Jersey on the current revision of New Jersey's 100-year old constitution, as an example of effective citizen action.

The Local Committee on Arrangements, under the leadership of William R. Pouders, executive secretary of the Tennessee Taxpayers Association, is putting exceptional energy and enthusiasm into the job of making the Nashville conference a notable experience for people from out of the state.

Arrangements will be made to help all who wish to pay fruitful visits to such places as Oak Ridge and various TVA projects. A general meeting of the conference Wednesday evening will consider the impact of the TVA regional program on local self-government. This subject is of general interest especially in view of the possibility of the creation of additional regional authorities.

Included among the 200 speakers and participants will be League President Charles Edison; Congressman Estes Kefauver; Governor Alfred E. Driscoll of New Jersey; George H. Gallup, president of the American Institute of Public Opinion; James W. Clise of Seattle; Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant; Roscoe C. Martin, director of the Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama; Spencer Miller, Jr., New Jersey state highway commissioner; W. Brooke Graves, chief, State Law Section, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress; Lloyd M. Short, director of the Public Administration Training Center, University of Minnesota; Joseph D. McGoldrick, former comptroller of New York City; Victor D. Brannon, director of the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute; William Stanley Parker, consultant on public works programming; John F. Willmott, executive director of the Dade County, Florida, Research Foundation; Lee S. Greene, director of the Bureau of Public Administration, University of Tennessee; J. E. Reeves, secretary of the Campaign for a Kentucky Constitutional Convention; Mrs. Edward S. Parsons, Jr., president of the Tennessee League of Women Voters; William L. Bradshaw, University of Missouri; Kimbrough Owen, director of research of the Louisiana Law Institute; Gordon R. Clapp, chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority; Douglas Campbell, Union College; and J. Theron Brown, president of the Baton Rouge City-Parish Charter Commission.

Portland Prize Judges Chosen

The League has appointed the following judges of the essay contest for the Portland Reed College Municipal Prize: Frank M. Stewart, director, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California at Los Angeles; Herman Kehrli, director, Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon; and C. A. Crosser, executive secretary, Municipal League of Seattle.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

They Aren't Waiting

THE evil youngsters do gets publicized. The good, perhaps because it's more plentiful, doesn't seem to be "news."

But it IS news. Big news. Good news.

Find a way to inform our teenagers of all the constructive things their fellows are doing and there will be less reason to worry about juvenile so-called delinquency. The imitative instincts of youth will do the rest for, thank goodness, youth's tendency is to ape its own generation rather than the one from which it sprang.

A newspaper writer¹ recently found two groups of young people who, conscious of their responsibilities as American citizens, are preparing themselves for the rapidly approaching time when, as sixteen-year-old Forrest Lockwood of the Peppy Reps put it, "everything will be up to today's high school crowd."

Reps is short for Republicans but the group, made up of Norwalk, Connecticut, high school students, claims some members who expect to vote Democratic or Socialist. With good promotion sense, the group started off with greetings from the state governor and the national party chairman. The members intend to study and hear speakers on local, state, national and international affairs.

One member is quoted as saying,

¹Sally MacDougall in the *New York World Telegram*.

"We've been thinking among ourselves that if all the people at U. N. had started studying world affairs when they were fifteen some of them would be doing a better job now."

The other politically-conscious youth group is the Young Democratic Club of College Point, on the fringe of the City of New York. Its slogan is, "If all good people should stay out of politics, God help our country." The club's aura of partisanship seems to stem from the understanding helpfulness of one Joseph Cassidy, executive officer of the local Democratic Club. Mr. Cassidy introduced the boys and girls at his club and got them a free hall for themselves.

The Young Democratic Club quickly found out how sensitive officialdom is to an organized group, any age. The club protested against keeping the gates of school yards locked after school hours. Now the best gym and basketball court in town is thrown open for use at all hours and so are the playgrounds of four schools. The cops don't chase the kids off any more. Next the club demanded a full stop sign at a dangerous crossing.

"People think we're just kids and not to be taken seriously," observed Ronald Vincent Schmalz, president of the Young Democratic Club, its speedy accomplishments to the contrary notwithstanding. "While we study local, state and national politics, we're not going to wait until

we're 21 to make our influence felt. We're doing things now. Some say you can't be in politics and be honest. We don't believe that."

* * *

These are only two examples which indicate youth's receptiveness to the responsibilities American citizens should welcome but too often ignore. Undoubtedly there are many other places in which something of the kind is going on. But youngsters don't always find as understanding and encouraging a man as Joseph Cassidy—or perhaps it is a case of a political leader being bright enough to realize that fifteen-year-olds aren't very far away from voting age.

By way of contrast, several high school students in Madison, Wisconsin, set out one day to be good school citizens. They carefully tested such things as light, heat, ventilation and humidity in the classrooms of what was supposed to be a modern building. Then they wrote up their findings for the school paper. The faculty stopped them and treated them as troublemakers.

* * *

Readers are invited to send the REVIEW information about civic or political activities of teen-agers in other places. There is need for a collection of such information and, in any event, it might make a good story.

Cooperative Public Officials

SOME months ago the REVIEW reported a situation in which public officials were deplorably hostile toward students who were trying to learn something about county government at the logical place to acquire that learning—where the government was being carried on.¹

It has been encouraging to hear from readers that such an attitude is not always encountered. Some of the letters received are published on page 510 of this issue. And Edward W. Weidner's article on page 489 describes a practical educational experiment in which occupants and seekers of public office have been friendly and helpful.

There are other good examples. The Toledo city hall has opened its doors and records for years to mem-

bers of the class in American citizenship at the University of Toledo. In at least one place college classes in local government are conducted right in the city hall and advanced students work part time in various city departments.

It would be interesting to know of other instances of enlightened cooperation of public officials with students. The REVIEW has reported some of them.

Of course it wouldn't be practical to have every city hall and courthouse constantly overrun by students. Work has to get done. But it is being demonstrated more and more that workable and mutually beneficial methods can be found to increase general understanding of government operations; and, happily, there seem to be fewer bureaucrats inclined to hang a "public keep out" sign on their doors.

¹"Students Meet Rebuffs in County Studies," June 1947, page 340.

Students Investigate Politics

Leave their classrooms to learn in wards how candidates are elected and just what makes local government 'tick'.

By EDWARD W. WEIDNER*

A DETAILED collection of facts. Ivory-towered idealism. These are the two standard criticisms of courses in local government at the college level. The former is frequently made by specialists in other aspects of political science. The latter is heard among practitioners of local government and citizens groups.

Unfortunately, both criticisms are often justified. Local government courses have been too factual, too disposed to examine matters of minute detail; at the same time they have been aloof from the actual give-and-take of community affairs. Nearly everyone interested in rural or urban government has used the shibboleth that local institutions are the foundation of democracy, yet few textbooks and fewer professors ever examine the theory of democracy at length to see if it is true. Although some field research has been undertaken by local government classes in a few universities, the number of instances is small and the research in some cases not too fruitful.

Local government, both urban and rural, is a nine-months course at the University of Minnesota. The theory of local government has long received careful attention, many weeks being devoted to the topic. In the last academic year, however, an experiment in field research was

carried out for the first time.

The objectives of the field research program were threefold: students would come directly in contact with community life, they would receive training in original research, and make some contribution to the knowledge of government and politics. The first objective was considered of primary importance for undergraduates, the two latter of special significance for graduates.

The municipal election in Minneapolis last spring was a natural topic for research. Class members had been reading the usual literature about local elections and political organization. Here was an opportunity to compare one locality with what authorities considered to be the general pattern.

Minneapolis is organized under the home rule provisions of the Minnesota constitution and statutes. It has half a million inhabitants and is located in a metropolitan area of nearly a million. Its charter, several decades old, provides a weak mayor-council form of government with numerous boards and commissions. At the primary in May and the final election in June, 29 vacancies in municipal offices were to be filled, fourteen of these aldermen from the city's thirteen wards. Other contests were for various boards—education, park, library, and estimate and taxation—municipal judgeships, comptroller, treasurer and mayor. Most of the campaigning was on behalf of

*Dr. Weidner is assistant professor of political science and assistant director of research in intergovernmental relations at the University of Minnesota.

candidates for mayor, council and school board with a one per cent payroll tax for schools a lively referendum issue.

Politics in a Municipal Election

Each undergraduate was assigned to a particular ward and asked to investigate the entire municipal campaign from within that area. Special emphasis was to be given an examination of the technique, philosophy and campaign organization of candidates for alderman and mayor and the relation of the aldermanic to the mayoralty race. Each student was told to interview candidates and their principal supporters, attend ward meetings, collect campaign literature, and determine what kinds of people supported the various candidates and why.

The project was begun in January when each student checked the history of politics in his ward and, by means of the census tracts and other sources of information, formed a picture of its racial, religious, economic and geographical characteristics. In examining the political history of his ward one student noted that the original settling of the ward "was largely by conservatives, often professional people and well-to-do families in business. When further development of the very fashionable areas declined and the middle and lower-middle classes built their homes, the liberal elements of the new group began to be a factor in politics, though, to be sure, most of them were conservatives. Near the turn of the century, multiple dwelling buildings were beginning to be popular in the area and they were

... occupied by the lower-middle and laboring classes. But politics was in the hands of the well-to-do conservatives and their control persisted ... until the depression of the 30's when the dissatisfactions of the people were evident."

The value for political analysis of the census tracts and other statistical information on local government units is frequently overlooked. The students found them of great help. By this means one ward was characterized as having the highest crime rate in the city, the lowest educational level, 108 of 200 liquor licenses, a racially diverse population, and the poorest social class. It was concluded that, to be successful, a candidate for alderman in that ward must have labor and liquor interest support and avoid all prejudice.

Several wards proved to be quite heterogeneous. The percentage of dwelling units which were owner-occupied in one ward varied by tracts from 0.0 per cent to 67.1. In another instance the northern half of a ward was found to have crowded multi-unit dwellings while the southern half had large single-unit homes. In several wards the Negro population was largely confined to one or two tracts. The political implications of these facts were found to be many.

Occupation grouping and religious beliefs were also considered in the analyses. Finding that over 60 per cent of his ward's employed persons were in the professional, semi-professional, proprietor-manager, and clerical and sales groupings, one student concluded that a conservative would have a definite advantage for alderman. In another instance a Catholic

aldermanic candidate whose campaign manager was a prominent Lutheran minister had an advantage from the standpoint of religious groupings over his opponents.

Class members obtained background information of value to all the undergraduates. Reports on filings for the primary election, election laws pertaining to municipalities, corrupt practices act, county and city-wide organization of the major parties, and the role of platforms in local government elections were made and discussed. Beginning in March about one class-hour every other week was devoted to exchanging information and mapping out the course of future action.

Final reports, as the preliminary ones, in most cases represented considerably more work and initiative than the instructor had required and presented conclusions some of which run counter to the usual textbook.

No 'Boss Rule'

There was no evidence of an entrenched boss system. That is not to say that all candidates were as well qualified as they might have been; but a boss system, corruption and poorly qualified officeholders are not all the same thing. Some students were definitely disappointed at the lack of able men running for certain aldermanic offices. While no new evidence of corruption was uncovered, there was quite reasonable suspicion in a few cases that all was not as it should be, especially as regards liquor licenses.

Although theoretically Minneapolis has a nonpartisan ballot for municipal elections, actually both Republi-

can and Democratic-Farmer Labor parties took an active part in the campaign. Students discovered that both parties had endorsed mayoralty and aldermanic candidates and were active in support of them. The Republicans believed that Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey, a prominent DFL leader, intended to run for higher office in 1948 and that the best way to beat him in 1948 was to begin to whittle him down to size in the municipal campaign. They were notably unsuccessful, the mayor winning by a two-to-one margin; but the result for the municipal campaign was injection of irrelevant issues.

The main effect of the nonpartisan provision, the students found, was to permit the mayor to claim that the election was a nonpartisan one in reply to Republican critics and to permit certain minor elective officials to avoid a definite commitment as to political party.

Precinct organization was most noticeable by its absence; although, as the campaign developed, the Humphrey-for-mayor forces were able to secure temporary precinct workers in most areas.¹ Neither major party has permanent precinct workers or captains throughout the city, and many houses were not canvassed for either mayor or aldermen. Candidates for office stressed the value of a house-to-house campaign, but organization to accomplish this was lacking in most cases.

In several wards there was virtual-

¹Thus Charles Edison's advice, to see your local precinct captain if you want to become active in politics, would not be applicable to Minneapolis. See *National Municipal Review*, June 1947.

ly no contest at all for alderman because the results of the election were a foregone conclusion. Students in these cases were perplexed as to what to do since there were no meetings to attend, no canvassing to observe, and almost no literature to scan. Another element of surprise to class members was the tardy development of the campaign. Active campaigning was generally confined to the two weeks prior to the primary and final election.

Other observations which run through the reports include lack of cooperation between the mayoralty and the aldermanic campaigns despite a definite liberal-conservative split in many wards, lack of extensive platforms, concentration by aldermanic candidates on ward issues when they did have platforms, and opposition of most aldermen to many changes in the city charter. Despite press cries of labor bossism, the students as a whole did not find labor stronger than normally would be expected. Labor, however, was the most powerful special interest group.

Weak Mayor City

Graduate students, meanwhile, were trying to get a picture of how government operates under a weak mayor-council system when the mayor personally is vigorous and capable. Each graduate was assigned to a board or commission or some other city agency and asked to analyze it from the viewpoint of the city as a whole. The result was a series of papers which not only presented the weaknesses of an outmoded form of government but also critically examined the technique of advisory

committees, the effectiveness of committees with powers of administration, and the attempt of Minneapolis to secure charter reform.

When Mayor Humphrey was first elected in 1945, he found himself mayor in name only. He controlled the police department and could make a few appointments to various boards, but he could exercise no power of supervision over the entire city administration. Believing there was much to be accomplished, he set about by force of personality to mobilize public support for his programs. The technique he used most was appointment of advisory committees, widely representative of community groups, instructed to make certain investigations and reports. Among the advisory committees studied by the graduates were the council on human relations, committee on law enforcement, tax and finance commission, citizens charter committee.

The mayor's secretary was helpful in introducing students to the respective committee heads and executive secretaries. The graduates examined office records, interviewed officials and attended meetings. Like most class members participating in the field research project, they found officials willing to give time and aid.²

In general the conclusions were that advisory committees as used in

²This is counter to the experience reported by Willard N. Hogan of Berea College in the June issue of the REVIEW, page 340. Not only were city officials cooperative in this class project, but also county, township, school district, village and city officials throughout the entire state of Minnesota have been cooperative in connection with field research which the author has directed for the Inter-governmental Relations project.

Minneapolis were assets in marshalling public support for the programs involved. Although differing widely in number of members, composition and procedure, the committees performed useful tasks. They brought a wide body of experience to bear upon community problems and were successful in formulating programs of action. It is interesting to note that the mayor's wishes in a matter almost invariably prevailed, though in no sense were the committees "stacked" with his partisan supporters. While committee consideration of a problem was in progress, a process of community education was carried out by the newspapers which reported the deliberations of the body and by the members of the committee, who spread the news among their associates. By this technique, the mayor was able to influence many aspects of municipal policy and administration over which he had little or no direct control.

The inadequacy of a weak mayor-council form of government even with a capable chief executive was demonstrated in a series of papers centering their attention upon the office of mayor, the school board, board of public welfare, board of estimate and taxation, and park board. The inadequacy stems from two factors, it was found. One agency does not know what another is doing, hence there is lack of coordination. In those few cases where there is such knowledge, there is no person or body with responsibility or power to secure coordination. A few examples may be given. Some city departments use the municipal garage to have their vehicles serviced while

others pay private garages for the same service. Two city departments, located in buildings close together, each planned to buy boilers for enlarged heating facilities. A central garage and a central heating plant for municipal buildings in one area would obviously produce savings.

The graduates became so interested in their work that several spent extra hours observing municipal government at work or participating in it directly. In following the progress of the charter board and committee, one of them became about the most frequent testifier at charter hearings.

The success of the field research program was such that it is planned to continue it in future years. Next year undergraduates will interview village and township officials while graduates will again analyze certain features of Twin City government. In addition, the class will attend at least one session of the city council, county governing body, and certain boards and commissions.

Two public officials will address the class this fall—one will defend the election of councilmen by wards, the other will defend the desirability of independent suburbs. An opportunity will thus be given to the students to pit their textbooks and lecture theories against the prejudices and experiences of officeholders.

The field research program at Minnesota last winter and spring helped to give the students a picture of the actual operation of local government, whetted their appetites for personal participation, developed their research abilities, and contributed in some measure to the knowledge of government in Minneapolis.

Apathy — Our Fifth Column

Schenectady voters fail to respond to efforts of local newspapers to kindle the flame of civic consciousness.

By JOHN N. DUMAS*

LAST June the Schenectady (New York) *Gazette* departed from newspaper tradition and criticized its own readers. The paper had found in a comprehensive poll that almost half the city's voters knew exactly nothing about their government. One out of four was prejudiced to the extent that he distrusted all politicians without exception. Many could hardly cast an intelligent ballot on election day.

Schenectady's 100,000 people, however, were told by the newspaper that, if the same poll were taken in almost any other city in the country, the results would probably be the same.

Schenectady represents a good cross section of greater America. Parent plants of the General Electric Company and the American Locomotive Company give the city better than its share of college-trained scientists, technicians and business executives. Its ratio of college graduates to non-college graduates is the second highest in the country. Approximately 40 per cent of its working population are unskilled and semi-skilled laborers; 20 per cent are white-collar workers. It is a miniature Detroit or Pittsburgh.

Schenectady's political organizations are far from corrupt; its last real machine was cleaned out years ago. Its two newspapers, the morn-

ing *Gazette* and the evening *Union-Star* — both independently owned, have kept constant tabs on the administration. During election week last year the *Gazette*, in six days, published 276 column inches of news and editorials devoted strictly to local government and politics — fourteen newspaper columns, nearly two full newspaper pages. Both papers, by and large independent in policy as well as ownership, average about eight columns of civic news each week.

On the surface Schenectady is far from lacking in civic consciousness. Last spring more than 210 organizations joined to accomplish a host of public improvements within a ten-year span. Their aim: to make Schenectady the "Town of Tomorrow."

But, as municipal affairs reporter for the *Gazette*, I saw the empty chambers in city hall when the city council held its bi-monthly meetings. I watched councilmen, under relentless pressure from minority groups, conscientiously try to sound out public opinion without success. I boiled over when supposedly intelligent friends asked me what the "dirty politicians" in city hall were up to.

What was beneath the surface? What did the average man-on-the-street know about his local government—cornerstone of our democratic system? How many looked upon all public office holders as "dirty poli-

*Mr. Dumas is municipal affairs reporter for the Schenectady *Gazette*.

ticians"? Of those who voted, how many knew whom they were voting for?

A city-wide poll would give us a fairly reliable insight.

Preparation for the poll spanned a two-months period. In presuming to estimate public knowledge and opinion, a newspaper assumes great responsibility. Statistics were compiled showing existing occupational ratios in the city. On the basis of this persons to be polled were selected. They made up a cross section of the city and, I believe, a reasonable cross section of all American industrial centers where the great mass of the population is concentrated.

Poll Reveals Ignorance

This is what the poll revealed:

One out of two did not know the name of the city manager—the chief administrative executive who is mentioned on front pages five days out of six.

One out of two could not identify his representative in Congress—although this man ran for reelection only eight months prior to the poll.

One out of two could not identify the legislative body that makes the laws for the city—yet virtually every city council meeting gets front page coverage.

Six out of ten would not want their sons to enter politics—a deplorable condition considering that more than ever before our government needs capable leaders.

One out of four thought it impossible for a man to enter politics and *remain* honest—even though it was explained that "honest" was being

used in its broad sense as a synonym for integrity.

Thus we have a grim paradox: While we are loudly denouncing all the "isms," willing to defend our system with life and blood, a great many of us know nothing about our government and distrust those who set its policies.

To get at the basic causes for such apathy and misinformation — to make a start at eliminating them—is a huge task. But it must be undertaken. Otherwise there can be no real assurance that America will succeed in setting an example which the rest of the world will want to follow. Such a condition is, indeed, a real threat to our own democracy.

Without question some of the blame must fall upon our educational system. Perhaps our educators are putting the cart before the horse—dwelling on international affairs at the sacrifice of preparing tomorrow's voters for an active role in cleaning up their own backyards.

A portion of the blame must also rest upon the nation's press for neglecting to hammer home the necessity of citizen participation in politics and government under the democratic system.

The *Schenectady Gazette* today is pursuing a consistent, nonpartisan policy of public education aimed at ultimately attracting more voters—and better informed voters—to the polls.

How influential can one newspaper be in a direct effort to foster greater citizen cooperation in community affairs?

In so far as Schenectady is concerned, it is too early to estimate

what effect the *Gazette's* consistent hammering will have. There have been some signs, however, which seem to indicate one important fact—the apathy is deeper, and will be harder to dispel, than many of us heretofore suspected.

On July 11, following a month of intense public service promotion aggregating more than 500 column inches, the *Gazette* and WGY, one of the biggest radio stations in the country, sponsored a "Civic Forum of the Air." The broadcast, originating from Union College and open to the public, was attended by barely 150 persons. And this despite the fact that 200 cards had been sent to the leaders of local civic groups while others were reached by telephone.

Little Interest in Forum

Attendance was encouraged by the announcement of an open forum following the broadcast. The program had much to offer any truly civic-minded individual. Its speakers were Hon. Oswald D. Heck, speaker of the New York State Assembly and a possible candidate for governor in 1950; Chester H. Lang, General Electric Company vice president and civic leader; Dr. Benjamin P. Whitaker, Union College economics professor and former budget officer for the state of Connecticut; and Anthony Barbieri, president of Local 2054, United Steelworkers of America.

The panelists agreed and emphasized during the broadcast that participation of local civic groups is essential. These groups were urged to devise their own programs to help reeducate the community to the benefits of an alert citizenry.

At this writing not a single civic organization has responded.

A few weeks after the *Gazette* poll was publicized, the newspaper began a heavily-promoted "Forum in Print"—an idea borrowed from the *Yonkers Herald Statesman*. Readers' views were sought on vital civic questions and it was intended as a means of tapping public opinion for the guidance of the city's lawmakers.

In view of the rising cost of government and the probability of a stiff increase in the city tax rate, the paper, at two-weeks intervals, asked: "Should the city discontinue cellar-to-curb waste collections?" and "Should a schoolboy patrol system be started to replace full-time patrolmen now at school crossings?" Because the board of education had been the object of much criticism, the paper asked, "Should the board of education be elected by the people, or should the mayor continue to appoint board members?"

All of these were vital questions, intimately affecting almost every taxpayer, but . . . "Forum in Print" died a lingering death because so few letters were received that the paper could not feasibly continue the feature.

During the week preceding primary day, July 29, the *Gazette* published a series of four articles entitled, "The Truth About Our Primary Elections." The whole sorry story of the impregnability of a strong machine and its hand-picked candidates—able to remain in power only because the average voter ignores primaries—was laid before the community.

(Continued on page 502)

Should Lawyers Be Citizens?

Former Cincinnati mayor challenges attorneys to civic action and urges them to "get into politics" while young.

By MURRAY SEASONGOOD*

THE government of the cities," [to which might have been added the counties], said Lord Bryce more than 50 years ago, "is the one conspicuous failure of the American democracy." That statement, in many urban sections of our country, is still true and unheeded. The Tweed ring of the 70's in New York City; the Cox, Vare and Schmitz gangs in Cincinnati, Philadelphia and San Francisco; the Yerkes, "Bathhouse John" and "Hinkey-dink" regime before and after the turn of the century in Chicago are perhaps known by name to the political science student of today, as are some of the more recent bosses such as Crump in Memphis, Pendergast in Kansas City, Curley in Boston and Hague in Jersey City. But the subversivity, waste and depravity that accompany boss rule are not generally comprehended and, even where they are, there exists little desire to remedy conditions which

truly menace the proper functioning of the Republic. Winchell's column recently contained this:

Some years ago a Philadelphia mayor was indicted for failing to suppress gambling and vice. He was accused of being on the payroll of underworlders. . . . Despite the exposure the mayor's regime continued to remain in power. The whole sordid affair caused one local editorialist to label Philly as the "city of brotherly loot."

In Cincinnati some 40 years ago two judges of an appellate court admitted, in a legislative hearing, they had been summoned by Cox to his office and requested by him to reverse a large judgment the city had obtained against a construction company. They did reverse the judgment and yet, after so testifying, were given renomination and reelection. The third judge, who declared he had said to Cox that as judge he would decide the case on the facts and the law, and who did vote to affirm, was denied renomination.

The fortunately circumstanced young men and women of promise do not have attention attracted to such matters in school, college or graduate courses, nor to what has been done or can be done to repair such breaches in the structure of government. And so their interests and, in some of them, idealism are left for other less important fields of activity.

*Mr. Seasongood, an attorney, was the first mayor of Cincinnati (1926-30) under its council-manager-proportional representation charter, of which he was an originator. He is a former president of the National Municipal League and a member of its present council. He is president of the National Association of Legal Aid Organizations; an assembly delegate, House of Delegates, of the American Bar Association; and former chairman of the Municipal Law Section and present chairman of the Special Committee on Civil Service of that organization. The article above is reprinted, with permission, from *The Harvard Law School Record*.

Lord Bryce also said, "The practice of local self-government is the best school of democracy and the best guarantee of its success." But as the former governor of New Jersey, Charles Edison, observed in a recent issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

Citizens will die for democracy, pay taxes for it and give their blood for its soldiers. But vote? Work at democracy? It takes a revolution or a miracle to arouse them. They are convinced that democracy is better than despotism, and they will send their sons to fight dictators on any continent and on every sea; but in their own states and cities they will allow domestic dictators to fasten themselves upon our institutions and to enrich themselves at public expense.

To join societies for world organization and to listen to learned lecturers on the populations of the Balkans are all right; but it is no substitute for knowing about the problems of one's own city, county and state. There is not much that you and I can do about the Ruthenians or the Koreans . . . but we can pull our weight in our own boat here at home. We can throw our influence toward the nomination and election of honest and forward-looking men right here. We can see that democracy works in America. Effective citizenship is active citizenship.

The term "local government" is, in some aspects, a misnomer, since its

effects are not merely local but national. There is no higher peacetime duty than to help with one's local government. Citizens do not get a different kind of government in the national domain merely by using names such as "Congress." Those sent to Washington have almost always had their training and acquired their habits of thought and action from the local field. Again quoting Winchell:

The influence of corrupt political bosses on national affairs cannot be overestimated. Many lawmakers are merely errand boys for local ward heelers. A reporter recently snapped, "This is truly a mechanical age. Even public officials are frequently machine-made."

Mixing Law and Politics

But the reader may say, "I am studying law. I aim to fit myself for a career at the bar and perhaps on the bench. The Harvard Law School traditionally trains for such careers. How will it affect my chances for these if, at the outset, I mix in an honorable way in the dirty business of politics? Ought I not wait, in any event, until I have made a name for myself and am firmly established?" The answer to that query is one no doubt still heard frequently in the school, "That depends."

It depends on whether the traditional Harvard Law School training for the practice of law is to be modified so that training for law shall include training for citizenship; and, if there is to be no change from convention, the extent to which one is willing to substitute, for probable

personal advantage, plodding the rocky road of courage, ideals and public service.

It must be granted that, in general, the best way to succeed in the practice of law is still by industry and the reputation that comes from undivided attention to legal business well done. True, there are many who get ahead with moderate attainments by the political path. But for solid self-satisfaction, independence and ability to sleep at night, success because people want you as a lawyer is the most gratifying and durable. It cannot be denied there are potential clients who, if they think you are interested in politics, may not employ you; either for fear their work will be slighted or because they suppose you will have made enemies who can prevent your getting results which a neutral or "political attorney," as they understand the term, i.e., a fixer, could achieve.

Political Appointments

The trouble with the political route is that it minimizes the importance of scholarship and industry and may lead to complacency, slovenly thinking and even loss of probity. Advancement often is guaranteed at the expense of legal study by political work, vote-getting strength and loyalty to the boss, the real appointing authority. To accept political decisions or suggestions which would not commend themselves to independent thought or high standards becomes increasingly easy. The political organizations debase the bar and give favors for "being right."

Thus, a probate judge may appoint an appraiser for each of thousands of estates in a year, parceling these out

on the recommendation of the patronage committee of the local organization. Similarly, the judges may assign attorneys for the defense of indigent prisoners, and there are other appointments such as masters, receivers and legal counsel for some of them. With a political bench, these appointments are regarded, contrary to the canons of judicial ethics, as political perquisites.

It makes a difference to a young lawyer, whose rent will be due when fees are not, if he may count on profitable favors to tide him over the waiting years. And there are many additional legal positions in city solicitors' offices and as assistants in civil and criminal departments (more than are needed to do the work), which pay above what a mediocre young practitioner might get at first in ordinary practice. Then, too, there is the chance to serve in the state legislature. Often the political heads do not hesitate to make "suggestions." If these are heeded there is always the bait of judicial position "after one's name has become known to the electors."

The philosophy of local machines and the best interests of the legal profession are antagonistic. At this time of administrative supremacy, lawyers, if they wish to persist as such, should be especially vigilant in recognizing weaknesses in the practice of the law as commonly conducted. They should seek to minimize delay, expense and uncertainty, and to restore the lawyer to that place in public esteem which De Tocqueville recounted a hundred years ago. Also, the judges should be compelled by

the bar to avoid the appearance, through campaigning or speaking at political rallies or making appointment on a political basis, of political partiality. Such conduct is not only wrong, but causes distrust in the public and a tendency to avoid litigation by any means.

In this modern age there ought to be: judges of recognized ability and character, service of process by mail, use of the photostat for recording and for certified copies of wills, deeds and other public records, microfilming, use of pre-trial procedure (by which more than 50 per cent of the cases in Wayne County (Detroit) are disposed of without trial), public defenders, abolition of the grand jury, simplicity and cheapness of appeals.

Use of Merit System

The merit system, properly administered, should be used for recruitment of lawyers in public positions and for clerks, sheriffs, bailiffs, official stenographers and their assistants. But there is a fundamental conflict between these requirements of preserving litigated practice for lawyers and the necessities of political organizations. The merit system properly conducted goes far to prevent political appointments, political activity and forced campaign contributions. The judges, too, are averse to curtailing their patronage. In many places there are too many judges for the work to be done and the judges, realizing this, sabotage pre-trial procedure which would make apparent how their number exceeds the public needs.

Despite this rather gloomy picture, the scales are not all weighted on

the side of the young lawyer attending solely to his ordinary legal practice and eschewing duties of the citizen and civic patriot. Where legal business originates is often unascertainable. It does come from wider acquaintance. And there is a delight in the contacts and friendships with others actuated by high motives. Also, while the political machines will fight, unfairly if need be, and discriminate against one who opposes them, secretly they respect him and very often will try to win him over. There are many persons who may become clients because they wish to employ the services of lawyers afraid of no one, not open to influence and who will present a case well against powerful and important defendants. Judges seldom take it out on one who does not hesitate to criticize them adversely with justice. Indeed, they sometimes treat him better than they do others. It is a source of wonder why young lawyers do not more frequently file taxpayers' suits and protect civil service employees. Reputation for legal acumen and fearlessness is enhanced by successful prosecution of causes having a public interest.

So far, there has been considered the young lawyer's participation in local public affairs solely on the basis of his self-interest, as if there were no Balaams to defy Balak. However, there is plenty of idealism and unselfishness in youth, today as always, whether lawyer or layman. Youth is the time for such sentiments. Courage and nobility of thought showed themselves unstintingly in the great struggle. Is all that high thinking to be lost in the humdrum of

peace and the grind of a prosaic practice of law? If it is conceded that participation in local political affairs must be accompanied by loss of opportunities in the practice, what of it? Where public duty is involved, let us forget expediency in peace as we did in war. To quote Browning—at the risk of being conclusively marked old-fashioned, "A man's reach should exceed his grasp, else what's a heaven for."

Perhaps the greatest deterrent of independent participation in local affairs is lack of knowledge of how to get in and to stay in. Unfortunately, it does not appear possible in this country for a high-stand man in the university or in law, as in England, either to have a political or dignified civil service career beckon. He can work into the local political machine according to his national party affiliation. But "reform from within" is a phrase apt to mean little achievement and much compromise and wrongful acquiescence.

In Public Service

There are positions for which a young lawyer may strive, such as city manager, planning engineer, governmental researcher, civic or municipal league secretary. But a lawyer's degree, while of some value, is no special aid to landing in any of these, except perhaps the last. City managers, especially in the smaller places, have been recruited, often as an economy, from the engineering profession, so that the appointee may continue to do engineering work. But there is no need for the city manager to be an engineer: a knowledge of law and government should be of at least equal value and there should be,

appointed by him, a competent director of service engineer to rely on, just as there should be a trained director of safety for police, fire, etc.

If the lawyer does not wish to devote his whole time to public affairs as a career, he should be willing to give at least some time. He should be willing to expose the folly of voting in local campaigns on the basis of national party affiliations, should study forms of local government, the legal problems of home rule for cities and counties and seek to have adopted the short ballot, the Massachusetts ballot, or proportional representation ballot, to do away with emblem voting that permits the ignorant and illiterate, without an act of cerebration, to determine who shall administer government in the community. He should at least be willing to serve as witness and challenger at the polls to prevent the vile election frauds so prevalent that in many communities citizens know it is idle to seek to vote at all.

If the practitioner waits until he is established before plunging into political waters, he will perhaps not go in at all. He will have more responsibility, more to risk, more disinclination to try something new, and will persuade himself that he is too busy to undertake everyone's business instead of his own.

Little can be accomplished alone. So, the best approach is to join some good government agency existing, or if none is present or working well, to organize one's own. Public discussion of local problems and mere knowledge that there is an informed, alert and intelligent group watching will themselves accomplish some amel-

ioration of conditions. Politicians are sensitive to public opinion, although they sometimes appear to flaunt it. "They are slaves who dare not be, in the right with two or three," said James Russell Lowell. The two or three will become many if you convince them you are trying to do something worth while and have a good chance of success. It is curious how many people like Mr. Pickwick, in his famous conversation with Mr. Snodgrass, "wish to do what the mob does," or, "if there are two mobs, shout with the loudest." Stevenson's view is better, "Our business in life is not to succeed, but to continue to fail in good humor." Or, to use Bishop Trench's opening couplet in the sonnet quoted in the life of that great lawyer and great citizen, Sir Edward Clarke, "Not all who seem to fail, have failed indeed. Not all who fail have, therefore, worked in vain."

In this stirring era, all—governments, businesses and professions—must be adaptable and receptive to new ideas. Let the lawyer of the future refuse to be "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought"; and, for the honor of his profession and for American democracy, to preserve which so much has been lavished in goods and lives, resolve that, at whatever cost, he will not wait to have a part, an active, honorable and useful part, in local public affairs.

APATHY—

OUR FIFTH COLUMN

(Continued from page 496)

But on primary day, as in years past, less than 20 per cent of the eligible voters went to the polls. The articles apparently had little or no effect.

Working on public officials through its news and editorial columns, however, the *Gazette* did make progress toward better government this year. It criticized a police court system under which persons arrested for speeding were allowed to forfeit bail and escape having a conviction recorded on their licenses. Although it was a system of twenty years' standing, it has been changed. The paper criticized the city planning commission for its closed meetings during a six-months period, and the meetings were thrown open to the press only recently.

This is not to say that the newspaper should not continue acting as watchdog. But it is true that the results are partly nullified when an apathetic citizenry fails to maintain a companion vigilance.

This demonstration of civic apathy in one community, despite an all-out effort to reverse the trend, seems to indicate that there are deep roots to uncover. What has happened and is happening in Schenectady should serve as both a danger signal and a challenge to the rest of the country.

20th Century Public Service

Number of government activities continues to grow with much overlapping or division of functions between three levels.

By CARL H. CHATTERS*

AN individual citizen controls his expenditures by the kind of things he does or refrains from doing. Some persons may have higher expenditures than others because they like the theatre, the race track and fancy eating places.

Governments, too, regulate their expenses by the activities they perform for their constituents. As the number and scope of these activities continue to increase, so the cost of government expressed in dollars continues to rise. The cost of government—federal, state and local—cannot be limited long by arbitrary devices such as tax limitations. Limitation or expansion of costs will come about through a study of the activities of government, an understanding of their fiscal significance, and a choice by citizens between higher costs and fewer services.

This article will analyze some of the findings of a recent study entitled *An Inventory of Governmental Activities in the United States*.¹ A more intensive report for a single city was made in 1942 by Lent D. Upson.² The latter traces each new

undertaking of the city of Detroit from 1824 to 1941.

The activities of government are more significant when considered with the number of governmental units in the United States³:

Type of Government	Number of Units, 1942
Federal	1
State	48
County	3,050
City, borough, village	16,220
Township and town	18,919
School district	108,579
Other districts	8,299
Total	155,116

An understanding of government requires a knowledge of these units, their activities and their financial transactions.

None of the fifteen major functions discussed in *The Inventory* are performed exclusively by a single type of government. Some activities and groups of activities, however, are predominantly the responsibility of one government. All governments are concerned with the protection of persons and property. But national defense is predominantly a federal government activity while fire protection and fire fighting are essentially local activities. The actual work of constructing and maintaining

Bureau of Governmental Research, Detroit, 1942.

³*The Units of Government*, by William Anderson, Public Administration Service, Chicago, 1942.

*Dr. Chatters, formerly executive director of the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada and comptroller of the Port of New York Authority, is professor of municipal administration and finance at Northwestern University.

¹By Carl H. Chatters and Margorie Leonard Hoover, Municipal Finance Officers Association, Chicago, 1947.

²*The Growth of a City Government*,

highways in the United States is exclusively a function of the state and local governments but the federal government exercises its influence through its research, planning and promotion and through its financial contributions and the conditions attached thereto.

The function of sanitation and waste removal is almost exclusively local. This function includes sewers and sewage disposal, street sanitation, waste collection and disposal, stream and lake pollution, and noxious weed control. The state and federal governments were required to intervene to prevent stream and lake pollution, to conduct research in sewage disposal methods, and to control noxious weeds. Had each local government completely taken care of its own sewage problem without infringing on the interests of other municipalities, the federal and state governments would have had little cause to participate in this function.

Federal Activities

The federal government has exclusive jurisdiction over national defense, the coinage of money and the postal service. Navigational aids are exclusively federal. Among them are the coast guard, lighthouse service, astronomical observations, hydrographic surveys, shipping regulations, and rules for the use of navigable streams.

A large number of regulatory activities are federally administered. But they are usually federal only to the extent that they affect interstate commerce. For instance, the regulation of railroad rates is looked upon as a federal government activity because the rail traffic is largely inter-

state. But the control of electric and gas rates is almost exclusively a state matter because electricity and artificial gas are generated and sold locally.

But the federal government, through the power of the purse, can exercise great influence on many activities which it does not itself perform. Who would deny Uncle Sam's influence on highway construction, public education, public health, public assistance and social insurance? Yet the federal government does not construct highways, operate educational institutions, nor dispense public assistance. The federal influence here comes from conditional grants-in-aid, advisory services and the "we-want-ours-too" attitude of the states and localities.

It may be helpful to list here some activities which are carried out by the states and localities but are financed in part by federal funds: highway construction, agricultural extension services, soil conservation, nutrition programs, aid to dependent children as well as the aged and the blind, school lunches, vocational education, agricultural colleges, and books for the blind. The relative influence of the federal government on state and local activities is far in excess of the amount of money being contributed currently from the federal treasury.

State Activities

Activities which the state governments perform directly and exclusively are few in number. There is little uniformity among the 48 states as to the activities which they carry on directly for their citizens. It is true, however, that the administra-

tive or overhead activities may be almost universal such as the state treasury, state attorney general, state health office, state department of education and state highway department. But the activities of the health, education and highway departments are far from uniform.

The functions which the states participate in most actively are regulation of business, highway construction and maintenance, development and conservation of natural resources, some health activities, hospitals and institutions, public assistance and social services, corrections, unemployment compensation and higher education. The states appear to perform few functions or activities for *all* citizens. This may be because the state government takes over certain activities which would be an unjust charge on a single locality or which no single locality could perform economically. Highways, natural resources and health activities affect nearly all citizens. On the other hand, only a limited number are admitted to higher educational institutions, mental hospitals, penal institutions or benefit from public assistance and unemployment compensation.

If the state governments perform few activities themselves, they have an increasing influence on local governments through the supervision of local activities.⁴ This state supervision extends to primary and secondary education, teaching standards, public welfare, highways, local fiscal operations such as accounting,

auditing, budgets and debts, local property assessments and local personnel. This supervision and the right to pass legislation give the states the opportunity, if they wish to exercise it, to dominate all activities except those of the federal government itself.

Local Activities

The discussion of federal and state activities should not lead to the erroneous conclusion that local governments have nothing to do. The contrary is true. The counties, cities, villages and towns still carry on the activities which affect most individuals in their daily lives. The citizen goes to bed at night relying for protection of his life and property on his local police and fire departments. The water which he drinks with his breakfast probably comes from a municipal water system. The highway on which he travels to work is a city street. The milk he drinks comes from farms inspected by the city health department and the grocery store from which his food comes is licensed and inspected by the city. His children go to schools operated by the local school board. For the recreation of himself and family there are local recreational facilities, museums, golf courses, swimming pools, parks and auditoriums. He may even be buried in a municipal cemetery.

One branch of local government, the county, carries out many state activities but does so at the local level. Violations of state law are usually prosecuted in a county court by a county attorney elected by citizens of the county. State highway regulations are usually enforced by

⁴For an excellent discussion of this topic see *State-Local Relations*, Council of State Governments, Chicago, 1946.

sheriffs' deputies or county police. Recording of births and deaths, required by state law, takes place at the courthouse or the city hall. The county welfare unit is a branch of the state department of public welfare. The highway expenditures which constitute a large part of county costs are closely related by purpose and supervision to the program of the state highway department.

The incorporated municipality is still the unit of government exercising the greatest direct influence on the lives of American citizens. Without going into more detail or listing exceptions, it appears that the incorporated municipality affects the everyday life of its residents through the following: planning and zoning regulations, crime prevention, traffic control, fire fighting, protective inspections, street construction and maintenance, snow removal, street lighting, prevention and control of disease, the operation of hospitals, construction of public housing, public free education, libraries, recreational facilities, parks and public service enterprises. How can a citizen affected so directly by so many activities be so indifferent to the government which controls his life in so many ways?

Special District Activities

Aside from school districts, there are many special districts which perform services of a local nature. Many of these were created for a limited purpose or because the service to be rendered did not coincide with the artificial boundaries of existing governments. The most widely known special district in the United States

is the Port of New York Authority created by the states of New York and New Jersey to operate terminal and transportation facilities in the New York metropolitan area. There is an increasing number of authorities for other purposes such as airports, water and sewage disposal. Special districts have long existed for street or highway improvements, fire fighting and mosquito control. Many special districts are being dissolved but new ones are taking their place.

New Activities

Several important functions and activities of government are relatively new and essentially federal in operation or origin. Great expansion has come in the last two decades to health, welfare and social services. New health activities include maternal and child health services. Public assistance in all forms has greatly expanded but particularly as related to aid for dependent children, aid to the blind and old-age assistance. Old-age and survivors' insurance and unemployment compensation are new on a national scale.

The federal guarantee of bank deposits was depression-born. The housing activities of the federal government were started in the last two decades, flourished greatly, and recently suffered sharp curtailment. While all these federally-initiated programs were costly to the federal government, they stimulated the expansion of related activities by states and local governments.

The states appear to have taken on few significant activities except those related to the federal functions noted in the preceding paragraphs. But in the last two decades the states have

greatly expanded their activities related to highways, health, state institutions and education. The broadened powers of supervision over local activities have already been discussed.

New municipal functions have been relatively scarce. An exception is found in public service enterprises whose significance is discussed below. Recreational and cultural facilities have expanded, particularly in the larger cities and counties. New types of police equipment have been developed to deal with changing technology especially as related to motor vehicles. Sewage disposal, once a minor activity, is the principal problem in scores of communities. The general feeling that everyone should have access to a good hospital has greatly expanded this service as a municipal function. The local housing authority is new. Junior colleges and vocational schools as municipal services have been greatly increased in number. Municipal and county libraries have extended their services.

Public Service Enterprises

Public service enterprises are in the nature of public utilities and are supported primarily by charges for the services they render or the products they sell. Federal, state and local governments all have such enterprises but they are more common as municipal activities. The post office is a federal monopoly and a public service enterprise. Other federal public service enterprises include canals and waterways, rural electrification and the multiple purpose enterprises such as the Tennessee Valley Authority, Bonneville Dam, Grand Coulee Dam and the

Central Valley project. All these have developed since 1932.

The states have a limited number of public service enterprises. There are state liquor monopolies, liquor stores, airports, ferries, grain elevators, canals and waterways, toll roads and toll bridges. The toll road, developed early in our country's history, disappeared for nearly a century but now makes its appearance anew in such projects as the Merritt Parkway in Connecticut. Bridges have been freed of tolls but many new road proposals are based on the service charge principle. Liquor stores and liquor monopolies came with the repeal of the eighteenth amendment. Canals and waterways represent the oldest type of state enterprise in America. Even so the public service enterprises of the states are limited.

Municipal service enterprises include railroads, street railways, bus lines, electric power plants, water works plants, gas plants, liquor stores, airports, ferries, bus terminals, markets and warehouses, abattoirs, cemeteries, broadcasting stations, telephone systems, docks and harbors, toll roads and toll bridges. Isolated cases of ownership of many others could be recorded. Municipalities acquired some of these enterprises because private operation was no longer profitable. This was certainly true of street railways. Some enterprises such as the bus lines were taken over by cities as emergency measures.

Sometimes enterprises were taken on the theory that lower rates would follow. This was the inducement for municipal ownership of electric,

water and gas plants, ferries and telephone systems. Enterprises might require public subsidy and therefore public operation. This was usually true of airports, bus terminals, markets, abattoirs, cemeteries, docks and harbors. Regardless of any philosophy of public versus private ownership the fact remains that the ownership and operation of public service enterprises by municipalities has grown rapidly and continues to extend to new fields.

Activity Problems

Several questions arise about governmental activities. Is a new activity a proper one for government, for private business, or for neither? Should a new activity be performed by the federal, the state or the local government? If the local government takes on a new task, will the local government pay the cost alone or will the state give financial assistance? When the state orders local governments to start or to increase an activity, should the state have the right to make local expenditures greater without local consent? Should the federal government start a new activity which the states will administer from funds supplied in part by the federal government and in part by the state government? When new activities are started or expanded should the activities be related to any particular revenue source?

The difficult problems concerning activities do not arise so much from selection of the government to carry on the task as from the choice of the unit of government or the source of revenue to finance them. The devices of grants-in-aid and shared taxes

are used widely to resolve these conflicts.

Most governmental activities are participated in by more than one type or unit of government. Actual duplication of effort, however, is more imaginary than real. There is no duplication of service, for instance, when the city police patrol a state highway inside the city limits and the sheriff's deputies or the state police patrol outside the city. The division of work may not be completely efficient and responsibility for an activity is divided. But this division of responsibility suggests that greater consideration be given to the size and boundary lines of local governments. In some places conflicts of this nature can be resolved by contractual arrangements. Los Angeles County, for instance, assesses property on a contract basis for some municipalities in the county. In Canada, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police work under contract to eliminate the need of local police.

The city, the county and the state may each have a hospital in the same city without any duplication of service. The city might have a general hospital, the county an isolation hospital and the state a tuberculosis sanatorium. Although there is no duplication or overlapping of hospital service, still there is the possibility of better service through unified administration.

Frequently there is real duplication of effort in states where the area of the cities is also a part of the counties which contain them. In Michigan the sheriff duplicates the police work of the city chiefs of police. At least they have concurrent and

equal authority in the same geographic area. In far too many cases property may be assessed for taxation by two different assessors and in some cases three assessors of three different units each make independent valuations for different local levies. And the existence of a county tax collector, a school tax collector and a city tax collector in the same geographic area is a phenomenon ugly to behold.

Still the greatest conflicts come from overlapping authority rather than duplication of services. In the federal-state programs for health, highways, welfare and housing, the federal government uses grants-in-aid to set standards which determine the program of state and local officials who actually administer the activities. State governments make an even greater impact on local governments by setting local performance standards with respect to highways, health, welfare and education. This effort by the federal government to impose its will on the states, the supervision by the states of local activities, and the mandatory nature of many expenditures imposed on one government by another constitute an area of conflict which has not yet been fully resolved.

Much of the overlapping or duplication of activities is inherent in the system of federal-state-local government used in the United States. Some

of it may even be desirable to preserve local governments and disperse authority. The solution to the complicated scheme of government activities seems to lie in larger areas, particularly with respect to schools, the disincorporation of very small municipalities and assumption of their duties by stronger counties, the performance and financing of all activities at the lowest possible level of government consistent with ability to finance and administer them, self-control by the states with respect to activities involuntarily imposed on local governments, keeping special districts and authorities to an absolute minimum, concentration in the incorporated municipalities of all activities within their borders, performance by stronger counties of services of a county-wide nature, and restraint on the use of grants-in-aid to stimulate questionable activities.

The activities of government are many. They have grown in number and will continue to grow as long as civilization gets more complex. As the power of private business becomes more concentrated, there will follow a concentration of governmental power or an evasion of government by business. More thought about the activities of government and their significance would do much to solve the problems of both governmental revenues and expenditures.

Letters to the Editor

Two Kinds of Officials—and Students

To the Editor

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

I am writing as the spokesman for twelve college veterans who have been studying San Francisco city government for the last six months. We were deeply interested in your June article on the experience of the Berea College students in their study of county government and we feel that Professor Hogan and many of your readers may be interested in hearing about our experiences here in San Francisco.

We have been selected from schools and colleges of the metropolitan area of this city and awarded nine-months scholarships by the Coro Foundation, a local private organization. We spend about half this training period studying the operations, organization and the problems of this city's government. So far in teams of two—with each team spending eight weeks in its chosen department—we have surveyed the city assessor's office, department of public works, police department, civil service commission, health department and many other offices.

Throughout the course the instructors have been the men and women in the departments who know the problems of government, know them because they spend eight hours a day meeting and solving them. San Francisco's city workers are busy people—whether they are on the board of supervisors or wrestling with teen-age recreation, juvenile delinquency, or problems of mass transportation. Yet many of them have taken a warm and personal interest in us and our efforts to know and understand the governing process. They have often put aside their work to become teachers; and they have done this graciously and with tolerance.

We believe that the overwhelming majority of department heads and employees of the government of this city are genuinely interested in the calibre and training of the men and women who enter into the local government and that much of their whole-hearted cooperation in our program has been due to this interest.

We also believe, however, that the clear understanding of the nature of our program, both by ourselves and the officials, before we ever undertook our study has been somewhat responsible for our success. We approached this laboratory course in government as students interested in public careers. The city officers were aware of this, and they looked on us not as critics but as students, not as bothersome dilettantes but rather as serious, intent young people trying to understand the day-to-day governing processes in order to prepare ourselves for governmental careers.

This basis of understanding and cooperation, laid before we began our work, has made better municipal government interns of us and has paid dividends as far as our relationship with our instructor-officials has been concerned.

HAROLD J. CHASE

Coro Foundation

To the Editor

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

I have just read, with interest, the article "Students Meet Rebuffs in County Studies," in the June 1947 issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, and I would like to make an observation from personal experience.

In some cases I have no doubt that instances such as those reported are true, but were they not exaggerated?

I, myself, am in a position where, I believe, I can look at this picture from both sides: that is to say, I have been with the Association of Towns of the State of New York and in the thick of local government for the past eleven years. Recently I have been taking some extension courses at one of the New York State colleges and, from my own observations, I would suggest that much of the fault for the uncooperative, "suspicious or skeptic" attitude on the part of the local officials lies with the students themselves.

For example, the association has been approached several times by students for material for theses on local government. We have at all times supplied vast quantities of material which we believed might be helpful. Upon examining some of the finished products, however, we have invariably found that the students ignore improvements which have evolved over the years; they concentrate, in many cases inaccurately, on personal "sore spots"; they ridicule and in general adopt a most superior attitude about the functioning of such government. It seems that they could have made no more than a cursory examination of any material, from the views which they expound at great lengths and with confident authority.

Unlike the situations described in the June issue of the *REVIEW*, I believe there is extensive material available in New York State at least, if the student cares to obtain it and I do not believe it is difficult to obtain. The association itself publishes eight different monthly publications on the town level. I know that the New York State Department of Commerce publishes an extremely helpful booklet entitled *Guide to State Services*, to mention but a couple of examples.

During the past year I enrolled in a course in New York State government. Various special projects were assigned in this course and it was suggested that our office might be the source for material, especially for projects on the local level. I spent some time and looked up much information on one particular subject for a member of this group, forwarded pamphlets, laws, statistics, described improvements and gave specific effective dates. When the finished report was delivered, I was utterly discouraged with the entire result. It evidenced a complete disregard for all the time spent on accumulating data for that project. Dates were inaccurate; the intention and result of corrective legislation was wholly misinterpreted; and the general tone of the report represented an attempt to poke fun at a situation which while it may not as yet have reached the top has steadily improved year by year under a definite planned program.

Every student in that class was uproariously amused and not one of them received even an inkling that town government in this state is not necessarily administered by "local yokels" or "country bumpkins." The perturbing part of the outcome to me was the fact that these students were mainly graduate students who were themselves teaching the information they received in this class to children of grade and high school level. Is there any wonder for discouragement—it seems to be an endless cycle; while it was bad enough that students should absorb these ideas, the fact that they in turn pass them on to the youngsters is downright tragic.

ZELDA M. UTHE, *Assistant Secretary*
Association of Towns of the State of
New York

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Legislatures Deal with Youth Problems

Take Positive Action to Avert Delinquency

EFFORTS to direct youthful energies into socially beneficial channels appear to have characterized legislation in many states this year in dealing with country-wide youth problems including juvenile delinquency.

A survey of legislative and executive action indicates that state youth programs are putting increased emphasis on helping young delinquents adjust to society rather than simply making punishment fit the offense, reports the American Public Welfare Association. Some eight legislatures authorized interim groups to study youth problems and services and recommend action to the next legislative sessions. Various states have created new bureaus to deal expressly with youth problems. Virtually all state action emphasizes rehabilitation of delinquents.

The Wisconsin legislature created a youth service division in the State Welfare Department to handle cases of youths under 21 who break the law. The division will have full access to facilities of a new diagnostic unit in the state university. Juveniles needing medical or psychiatric care will be sent there before disposition of their cases is made.

A Missouri law creates special schools for helping juvenile delinquents toward a more productive law-abiding life. Instead of being sentenced to imprisonment by the courts youthful offenders will be placed in these schools.

The State Youth Commission in

New York was extended for three more years and given an appropriation of \$2,380,000 on which to operate during fiscal 1948. During the past year the commission has aided 340 cities in providing better recreation for youth and developing methods to help stop the drift of some maladjusted youngsters toward delinquency.

The Florida Children's Commission since its inception last spring has organized children's committees in 37 of the state's 67 counties. The groups are working for effective cooperation between public agencies and citizen-sponsored services in the field of youth welfare and guidance.

State interim groups created by legislatures to study youth problems include the Arkansas Council on Children and Youth, the Colorado Children's Code Commission, the Kansas Juvenile Code Commission, the Maryland committee to study child labor laws, the Oklahoma Children's Code Commission and the Oregon Committee on Youth and Youth Guidance. In Illinois, the State Child Welfare Functions Commission was extended.

Recent New Jersey legislation authorizes cities to create youth guidance councils empowered to integrate all local work on youth problems and advise the juvenile courts.

Several states provided for special court treatment of young offenders. The Massachusetts legislature, on the recommendation of the State Child Council, provided for a statewide juvenile court system with specialized judges and probation officers trained in youth guidance.

Mississippi's Children's Code Commission is studying adoption laws and other subjects related to youth. In

California the care and treatment of juvenile cases under a separate Youth Authority is continued. In Kansas not only the juvenile delinquent but the exceptional child is being given attention by the State Council for Children, an unofficial body. Major state action to aid youth was taken this year also in North Dakota, Louisiana and Puerto Rico.

A New Constitution Prepared for New Jersey

New Jersey's constitutional convention has ended.¹ On September 10, two days before the deadline specified by law, the proposed constitution was signed by the delegates and presented to Governor Alfred E. Driscoll in ceremonies held at Rutgers University, the scene of the three-months convention.

Certain parts of the old constitution have been retained, some voluntarily, others by necessity. The law authorizing the convention prohibited any change in the "present territorial limits of the respective counties" or in the basis of legislative representation.

The first subject on which there was general agreement concerned the need for strengthening the governor's hand. His term is extended from three years to four and he is made eligible to succeed himself once. The succession provision generated a surprising amount of heat during committee hearings. Governor Driscoll argued that future governors—he asked to be disqualified in order to remove any suspicion of personal interest—should be eligible for a second term. Former Governors Morgan Larsen, Harold Hoffman, A. Harry Moore and Charles Edison were of the same opinion. Former Governor Walter E. Edge, on the other hand,

recommended retention of the present prohibition on succession. The committee's decision to authorize a second term was challenged on the floor of the convention but was upheld by a vote of 53 to 21.

The limited veto power of the governor was an object of attack by Governor Driscoll and former governors. At present no larger number is required to override a veto than the majority of all members necessary to pass a bill initially. The new provision requires two-thirds. The period for gubernatorial consideration of a bill is increased from five days to ten during a legislative session, and from five days to 45 after the session adjourns. The 40-day increase at the close of a session is designed to eliminate the practice of (a) forcing a governor unpopular with the legislature to consider a great mass of bills hurriedly or (b) submitting bills to a popular governor from week to week in violation of the constitution, a custom excused on the technicality that the chief executive's five days begin when the bill is presented to him even though the legislature may have adjourned weeks before.

The pocket veto is eliminated. By the new provision a bill becomes law at the end of 45 days unless the governor exercises his veto power. If he does veto any measure, the legislature automatically reconvenes at the end of the 45 days to act on the veto.

Perhaps the most important change affecting the governor concerns his powers over state administrative agencies. At present, the governor's constitutional authority over state administration is virtually non-existent. A major defect is his lack of control over his department heads. Some are elected by the legislature; others though appointed by the governor hold office longer than he does.

¹See "Jersey Constitution Revision Moves Fast," the REVIEW, September, page 452.

Independent administrative agencies, boards and commissions abound in New Jersey and constitute another hazard for a governor interested in administrative integration. Some, headed by lay commissions, have achieved widespread recognition for progressive administration. Some are powerful politically.

Administration Organization

The Executive Committee, as well as the convention as a whole, straddled the issue of administrative reorganization. It provided that all state agencies except temporary commissions be allocated among not more than twenty principal departments. Each department is to be headed by a single executive "unless otherwise provided by law." This clause obviously means that the politically potent agencies, such as the Department of Institutions and Agencies and the Department of Agriculture, are to retain their independent status. The governor, however, is given power to approve executive heads selected by commissions and power to remove after notice and an opportunity to be heard.

Single executives are to be appointed by the governor with the consent of the Senate, to serve at his pleasure. The secretary of state and the attorney general are given constitutional status, to serve concurrently with the governor. Aside from the governor, these are the only executive officers named in the new constitution.

The manner of securing executive reorganization was a stumbling block. Members of the legislature who were convention delegates gave little support to the suggestion that the allocation of departments be brought about by executive order. The plan finally adopted provides that if the legislature has not completed the allocation by

July 1, 1949, the governor shall call a special session to consider exclusively his plans for completing reorganization.

The customary constitutional charge to the governor to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed" is given real meaning. He is authorized, by appropriate proceedings in the courts, "to enforce compliance" or "to restrain violation" of any constitutional or legislative power by any state officer or agency.

Administrative rules and regulations will be of no effect until filed with the secretary of state. The legislature is instructed to provide for publication.

Legislative changes are few in number though important in character. The one-year term for members of the House and the three-year term for members of the Senate are eliminated in favor of two- and four-year terms respectively, elections to be held in odd-numbered years. The constitutional salary of \$500 is eliminated in favor of legislative determination of salary. The convention sent a memorial to the legislature suggesting an annual salary of \$3,000. As a check upon ill-conceived legislation — "legislative lightning" — a one-day interim is provided between second and third reading unless a bill is given an emergency classification by a three-fourths vote. Annual sessions are retained and special sessions must be called on request of a majority of the members of each house.

The greatest structural change is in the judiciary. A study of the courts by a legislative committee in 1942 concluded that New Jersey had the "most complicated scheme of courts existing in any English-speaking state." Unlike most states, New Jersey's courts were never modernized as was the English system which served as their model. Separate courts of law and equity exist with the result that frequently more

than one trial court is necessary to dispose of one controversy. The drive to replace existing courts with a completely unified and integrated state judicial system failed, but the top structure was completely rebuilt.

The judicial article eliminates the equity court as a separate system. It abolishes the state's top judicial body, the cumbersome sixteen-man Court of Errors and Appeals. The Supreme Court, whose nine judges sit on the Court of Errors and Appeals, was eliminated.

New Courts Provided

A new Supreme Court of seven justices is established. In addition to its appellate jurisdiction, the Supreme Court is charged with making rules governing administration, practice and procedure in all courts of the state. Constitutional provision is made for an administrative director to be appointed by and serve at the pleasure of the chief justice.

A Superior Court is created to be divided into appellate, law and chancery divisions. Each of the last two are to exercise such powers of the other as are necessary to complete a case.

County courts are given constitutional status, to exercise jurisdiction formerly held by the Court of Common Pleas, Orphans Court, Court of Oyer and Terminer, Court of Quarter Sessions and Court of Special Sessions.

Justices of the Supreme Court and all judges of the Superior and County Courts are to be appointed by the governor, with the consent of the Senate. Initial appointments in the Supreme and Superior Courts are for seven years; reappointment lasts during good behavior with retirement at 70. In addition to removal by impeachment, the new constitution provides that the Supreme Court may re-

move judges of other courts and that when it certifies any justice or judge to be incapacitated, the governor shall appoint a commission of three to make inquiry and, on its recommendation, may retire the justice or judge.

The amending process is liberalized. The present constitution requires a majority of all the members of each house in two succeeding legislatures, plus final approval by the people at a special election. On but four occasions since 1844 have these difficult requirements been met.

By the new provision an amendment is submitted to popular referendum at a general election if approved, after public hearing, by three-fifths of all the members of each house. If a three-fifths vote cannot be obtained, a majority of each house in two succeeding legislative years is required prior to the popular referendum.

Arguments over the structure of New Jersey's government proved less explosive than debate over certain of the government's powers. One of the most troublesome questions related to the legislature's control of gambling. Two of the four occasions when the present constitution was amended were concerned with gambling, the first in 1897 prohibiting all gambling, and the second in 1939 permitting pari-mutuel betting at horse races. Bingo, the major source of revenue for many church bazaars and firemen's and veterans' carnivals, remains illegal. The new constitution prohibits the legislature from authorizing gambling unless the "specific kind, restrictions and control thereof" have been approved at a general election.

There are a number of other important substantive provisions. Liberal construction of laws concerning municipal corporations is authorized; county government reform is hindered by re-

tention of sheriffs, surrogates, and clerks as constitutional officers but coroners and justices of the peace are eliminated; an anti-discrimination clause in the bill of rights prohibits segregation in the militia or schools; the right of persons in private employment to organize and bargain collectively is recognized; persons in public employment are limited to organizing and making known their grievances; the use of public funds is authorized for the transportation of children to public or private schools.

The wording of the tax article proved to be the crucial question before the convention. In 1941 the state fixed a rate of \$3 per \$100 valuation on second-class railroad property, that is, stations, yards and terminals. The Democratic organization in Hudson County contended that this tax gives preferential treatment to the railroads to the detriment of municipalities, since the average city rate is \$5.50 and the rate in Jersey City, where 60 per cent of all second-class railroad property is located, is \$7.70. A state franchise tax on railroads does not make up the difference and northern municipalities, it was argued, particularly Jersey City, lose large sums each year.

By an overwhelming vote the convention adopted a compromise which provides that owners of all real property taxed for local purposes must pay the general tax rate of the district in which the property is located. The convention then memorialized the legislature to reconsider "the entire railroad tax law in the interest of financial stability and efficient service of these vital public utilities."

With this last major obstacle settled to the satisfaction of both party organizations, the convention adopted the constitution by a vote of 77 to 1.

BENNETT M. RICH
Rutgers University

Constitutional Convention Opposed in Kentucky

The holding of a popular vote on calling a convention to revise the Kentucky constitution at the November election is vigorously opposed in some quarters, and efforts to prevent it have been made by court action alleging technical defects in the procedure to place the question on the ballot.

Four States Enlarge Economic Planning Powers

Legislatures in four states—Minnesota, Michigan, California and Ohio—this year broadened state planning powers, especially in the economic field, according to the Association of State Planning and Development Agencies.

Minnesota created a Department of Business Research and Development a major objective of which is economic development. The agency will promote further use of natural resources by encouraging development of industries and diversification of agriculture. Research will be coupled with national advertising of the state's economic advantages as well as its tourist attractions.

Another important duty of the department will be investigation of violations of state laws regarding unfair and monopolistic business practices. The department is empowered to help enforce these laws. It will also promote local planning and public works programs. Functions and funds of the now-defunct State Tourist Bureau and State Resources Commission go to the new department.

Michigan's new Department of Economic Development, backed by a \$75,000 appropriation for the current fiscal year, will undertake similar activities. It will take over many of the functions of the recently-abolished State Planning Commission and is empowered to advertise nationally.

In California the new State Conservation and Planning Board will absorb many functions of the Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission, now abolished. The agency will coordinate all local and regional planning activities in the state and conduct economic and general planning research. Legislators appropriated \$116,405 for its operation during the current fiscal year.

Ohio legislators passed a bill prolonging the life of the state Postwar Program Commission until the end of 1948. The commission handles scheduling of major public works and development of recreation.

33 States Have Uniform Traffic Codes

With the recent adoption of a uniform state traffic code in Texas the number of states with such legislation became 33, according to the American Public Works Association.

The Texas code specifies that hit-and-run drivers may be fined \$5,000 and sentenced to five years in jail, and that violators of other code provisions may be fined up to \$200. It also requires that accident reports be filed within 24 hours in cases of death, injury or major property damage, and sets strict minimum standards for lights and brakes, subject to inspection by the highway patrol.

Governors Seek Survey of Administrative Organization

Among resolutions adopted at the 39th annual meeting of the Governors' Conference, at Salt Lake City in July, was one requesting the Council of State Governments "to make a comprehensive survey and investigation of the over-all organization and administration of state government, including the organization and operation of the governor's office, operation of the state depart-

ments and agencies, budget administration, personnel administration, planning and development, interim commissions and relationships between the executive and legislative branches; and to recommend to the governors a program for strengthening and improving the over-all organization and administration of state government."

Wisconsin Revises State Auditing Setup

Two reorganization measures adopted by the Wisconsin legislature create a new Department of State Audit and a Department of Budgets and Accounts, superseding the former Budget Bureau. The Department of State Audit is responsible to the legislature and is charged with supervision of post-audits of the state and of local units of government requesting its services. The other department includes state pre-auditing and accounting duties as well as budgeting.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

By a vote of 2,356 to 1,744 on September 23, **Dover, New Hampshire**, (population 14,990) adopted a council-manager charter, previously passed by the legislature, after a spirited campaign. The plan was sponsored by the Veterans Civic Committee and the Citizens Civic Association. It was vigorously opposed by the city administration. A bicameral council will be succeeded by a single-chambered council of nine members elected at large. Dover is the first New Hampshire city (as distinguished from a town) to adopt the manager plan.

A council-manager charter was approved by the voters of **Bath, Maine**, on September 8, by a vote of 965 to 355. About 24 per cent of the registration participated. A council of fourteen is to be elected in February

1948, two from each ward. Nominations are by petition instead of by caucuses as formerly.

The council-manager plan was adopted by **Kinston, North Carolina**, on September 16 by a vote of 1,026 to 843—one of the heaviest ever cast in an off-year or special election. The city council must appoint a manager by January 1, 1948.

Elizabeth City, North Carolina, (population 11,815) which adopted a manager plan in 1915, has been restored to the official list of manager cities by the International City Managers Association. It was dropped from the list in 1940 because an elected mayor also served as manager.

Dade City, Florida, (2,561) has likewise been placed on the official manager list, a city manager having been appointed in September 1946 under a 1929 law.

The city council of **Canon City, Colorado**, has adopted the manager plan by ordinance, effective September 1.

In **Auburn, California**, the city council has adopted the manager plan; a manager is expected to be chosen by the end of October.

The first adoption of the council-manager plan in the state of Washington occurred on September 3, when the people of **Sunnyside**, appropriately named, voted in favor of the plan.

A vigorous campaign for the manager plan is in progress in **Portsmouth, New Hampshire**, under the auspices of the Good Government Campaign Committee of the Portsmouth Civic Association.

A town manager committee in **Newport, New Hampshire**, stemming from the textile workers union, has been studying the manager plan.

The city council of **Worcester, Massachusetts**, has acted on the certified petitions recently filed calling for a referendum on Massachusetts' Plan E

—council-manager and proportional representation—and the question will be voted on at the November election. Strong popular support is indicated, cutting across party lines. Worcester now has a 41-member council elected by wards.

Petitions for a referendum on Plan E have been filed and accepted in **Fitchburg, Massachusetts**, for a vote in November.

The **Revere, Massachusetts**, Committee for Plan E is conducting a vigorous campaign for adoption of Plan E at the polls on November 4.

Rossville, Georgia, defeated a manager charter by a vote of 451 to 93 on September 2.

The **Fairmount, West Virginia**, Charter Board has completed a council-manager charter, expected to be presented to the attorney general by October 16 for his approval, following which a series of public meetings is expected looking toward an election early next year.

In **Huntington, West Virginia**, the Huntington Citizens Association has been incorporated as a non-profit organization for better local government, with the council-manager plan as one of the primary proposals for consideration.

Petitions have been circulated in **Circleville, Ohio**, calling for a vote on the manager plan at the November election.

At the annual city election on August 26 **Wakefield, Michigan**, gave an advisory vote of 452 to 308 in favor of council-manager government. It is expected that the city commission will accordingly establish a manager plan by ordinance.

A campaign for adoption of the manager plan is under way in **Chisholm, Minnesota**, supported by the American Veterans Committee.

A committee has been appointed in

Harrison, Arkansas, to consider a new form of government, with emphasis on the manager plan inasmuch as the accumulation of airport, water, sewer, garbage and other projects makes necessary the entire attention of a competent manager.

In **Mitchell, South Dakota**, a committee has been formed by the Junior Chamber of Commerce to further the council-manager plan.

In his keynote address at the convention of the Utah Municipal League on August 28, in Price, Utah, Mayor B. H. Stringham of Vernal, president of the league, strongly advocated the manager plan, which is in operation in three **Utah** municipalities and under study in at least four others. More than 450 attended the meeting.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Columbus, Nebraska**, is studying the council-manager plan with a view to aiding in its adoption there.

In **Cozad, Nebraska**, the Junior Chamber of Commerce has filed petitions with the city council asking for an election on the council-manager plan.

A study of the manager plan is being undertaken in **Broken Bow, Nebraska**.

Charter revision is under consideration in **Alva, Oklahoma**, looking to the manager plan.

A citizens' committee in **Clinton, Oklahoma**, has recommended adoption of the manager plan.

In **Tonkawa, Oklahoma**, a proposal to adopt the council-manager plan was defeated on September 2 by a vote of 443 to 174. The plan was favored by Mayor Ernest G. See, who believes that the educational work done may bring about a different result in the future.

Pawnee, Oklahoma, defeated a council-manager proposal on September 2 by a vote of 290 to 198.

Pelly, Texas, will vote December 13 on the council-manager charter for the city of **Baytown**, to result from the merger of **Pelly, Baytown** and **Goose Creek** (see the REVIEW, September 1947, page 458).

A charter for the city of **Gladewater, Texas**, providing for a manager under the title of secretary-manager, was defeated at an election August 15. B. H. Broiles, publisher of the *Gladewater Times-Tribune*, reports that the defeat resulted from the vigorous last-minute fight of the incumbent city administration and its employees.

Gainesville, Texas, on August 30 voted to abandon the manager plan, in effect since 1927, by a majority of 190.

In **Texas City, Texas**, scene of the recent nitrate explosion disaster, charter changes are contemplated, with distinct interest in the manager plan.

The **Merced, California**, Citizens Committee has been working for adoption of the council-manager plan and much local interest has been aroused.

In **Burbank, California**, a manager city since 1927, the city council voted to establish a fifteen-member committee to undertake a charter revision.

In **Hoquiam, Washington**, a committee has been working for adoption of the manager plan.

A group of **Spokane, Washington**, citizens, concerned with the quality of city government, has been considering the merits of the council-manager plan as contrasted with the existing five-man commission plan.

In **Yakima, Washington**, much interest in the council-manager plan is reported. The Chamber of Commerce has appointed a committee to study and report on the plan.

Legislation adopted in Nova Scotia this year authorizes the city council of **Halifax** to appoint a city manager or to set up an executive committee.

The Halifax *Herald* is urging appointment of a manager.

Denver Mayor Adds Staff Services

Mayor Quigg Newton of Denver, Colorado, lost no time in securing the services of a qualified staff after he assumed office on June 2. Few will deny that he entered office under trying conditions. First, he succeeded a man who had been Denver's mayor for twenty years; second, a mandate of the voters called for a charter convention and a referendum on the new city charter it would draft—all in the first six months of the new mayor's term.

To aid him in meeting the many problems of city administration, the mayor added two administrative assistants to his cabinet which already included five department heads (or managers), a secretary and a purchasing agent. One administrative assistant is in charge of public relations while the other heads the city survey staff.

The first, and probably most important, responsibility of the survey staff is the city budgets—current and capital. Until recently no one agency has been assigned to prepare and be responsible for the over-all city budgets. The survey staff, working within the general policy established by the mayor, prepared a budget for the remaining months of 1947 which was accepted by the city council without change. A capital budget has been prepared for 1947 and work continues in setting up a long-range program.

The city hospital and health department, long targets of civic criticism, were reorganized under the capable leadership of the newly appointed manager of health in accordance with recommendations by local and national experts as well as the survey staff.

Problems regarding charter revision also were brought to the survey staff for research and recommendation. Prodigious amounts of consultation and discussion followed painstaking research in the field of municipal charters. The results were incorporated in the mayor's tentative charter proposal, providing the strong mayor plan, which is the working base for the charter convention now in session.

Personnel of the survey staff has for the most part consisted of nationally-known experts called to Denver to solve particular problems. Included in this category have been consultants for the city hospital, fire, health and street departments, public buildings and municipal organization. The director of the surveys, Hugh R. Catherwood, has had long experience in local government throughout the United States. Until drafted by Mayor Newton he directed research for a state governmental research organization.

The value of Denver's survey staff already is demonstrated beyond question. This new staff agency seems certain to be continued as a vital unit of city administration.

TROY R. WESTMEYER
University of Denver

Denver University Awards Fellowships

The tenth annual award of government management fellowships in the University of Denver's Department of Government Management has been announced.

The ten students will begin a twelve-months training program September 15. In the last three months of the program they will be assigned to make administrative surveys of some state or local government or agency. The completed survey is accepted as a master's thesis by the graduate college of the university.

Researcher's Digest Edited by John E. Bebout

Resources, Population Movements Studied

University Bureaus Lead in Study of Land and People

BUREAUS of government research are displaying an increasing interest in the problem of natural resources as shown by such recent publications as *The Public Land Question in New Mexico* and *The Population of New Mexico*, both published by the **Division of Research, Department of Government of the University of New Mexico**—the former by Jack E. Holmes, the latter by Ross Calvin. The **Bureau of Government Research of the University of Kansas**, Ethan P. Allen, director, has issued a pamphlet by Frank T. Stockton on *Natural Resources: Their Relation to Power and Peace*.

The first report on the administration of natural resources project in six southern states has been issued by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of South Carolina**, George R. Sherrill, director. The book is entitled *South Carolina's Natural Resources* and was prepared by Christian L. Larsen, assistant director of the bureau. It covers all phases of resources administration and emphasizes that cooperation—intergovernmental, interdepartmental, public-private—is an essential factor in South Carolina's administration of its resources.

"The Disintegration of American Cities" is the subject of a recent issue of *Tax Policy*, put out by the **Tax Institute**, Mabel L. Walker, executive director. Far from increasing, populations of central city areas have been declining. For example, the present population of Manhattan Island is "just about where it stood in 1900."

This trend will continue into the foreseeable future and the author predicts a nation of fluid cities more than half of whose population will live outside them. Another prediction is that "the city of the future will be a less sharply defined political entity."

The "Flight to the Suburbs" is a definitely disturbing phenomenon to the **Municipal League of Seattle** in whose *Seattle Municipal News* this problem is discussed and its causes examined. A serious problem ensuing from this exodus is that "they [rural dwellers] enjoy city services without paying their tax share for them." Some suggestions for "luring" suburbanites back are offered.

Citizens' Business, published by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research**, Robert K. Sawyer, director, warns that proposed abolition of the Division of Ground Water of the United States Geological Survey "may adversely affect the city's development" because of this agency's value to industry and construction.

The **University of Arkansas Bureau of Research**, C. O. Brannen, director, has issued a detailed analysis of *Public Water Supplies of Arkansas*, prepared by Harrison Hale, R. C. Baker, I. W. Walling, D. M. Parrish, and G. A. Billingsley in cooperation with the Geological Survey, United States Department of Interior. Individual supplies are listed with a chemical analysis of each as well as facts about ownership, source, pumpage, storage and location.

Planning and Parking Studies Reported

Citizens' Business, published by the **Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia**, Robert K. Sawyer, director, discusses "Philadelphia's Planning Commission" and its activities of the past

four years. The commission has served as planning coordinator, has conducted basic studies, and has formulated a six-year program for public improvements.

Citizens' Business is also interested in "Neighborhood Planning." The article discusses the beginning of the first neighborhood planning group, which is getting started in South Philadelphia.

Your Tax Dollar, the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc.**, D. Benton Biser, director, outlines and comments on the recommendations of the planning commission and suggests that the city administration carry out the commission's program.

Off-Street Parking in Pennsylvania Municipalities (53 pages) has been published by the **Pennsylvania Municipal Publications Service** under the auspices of the **Institute of Local Government, Pennsylvania State College**, H. F. Alderfer, executive secretary. The problems resulting from street parking are listed and the advantages of off-street parking cited. Eleven tables and two appendices complete the volume.

The **Providence Governmental Research Bureau**, Robert E. Pickup, executive director, is concerned with the parking problem and advocates a stricter enforcement of parking ordinances.

Fresh Approach Needed

Urban Land, published by the **Urban Land Institute**, Newton C. Farr, president, reviews Chicago's parking problems as well as parking problems generally. It recognizes the need for a fresh approach to parking as a community problem which mere legislation cannot solve. Some of Chicago's accomplishments in easing the situation are enumerated.

In the *Portland City Club Bulletin*, published by the **City Club of Portland**, Eugene Caldwell, president, the committee appointed to study underground parking goes "on record as opposing

construction of subsurface garages under any of the downtown parks." The committee's reasons are given as well as some recommendations.

Rochester's experience with municipal parking lots is reported in the *Monthly Bulletin* of the **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research**, W. Earl Weller, director. Parking stations, each with its own parking period limits, were established and the article discusses their method of operation.

An off-street parking plan by Harland Bartholomew and Associates for the City Planning Commission of Schenectady is reproduced by the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc.**, George L. Nichols, managing director. Present facilities and needs and future requirements and recommendations are presented, with maps.

Legislative Research Needed and Completed

"During the last 25 years basic research on the legislative process and the operation of legislatures in the states has tended to lag behind that . . . on other aspects of state government." This is the opinion of O. Douglas Weeks, of the University of Texas, author of *Research in the American State Legislative Process*. The volume was issued under the auspices of the **Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council**. It outlines areas in which research is badly needed, including the unicameral legislature, pressure groups, legislative personnel, and political control and leadership.

The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Tennessee**, Lee S. Greene, director, has recently issued Volume 2 of its *Papers on Constitutional Revision*.¹ The following papers are included:

¹See the REVIEW, September 1947, page 477.

Unicameral vs. the Bicameral Legislature, Constitutional Provisions Governing Terms of the Legislature, Legislative Sessions, Compensation of Legislators, four articles by Irby R. Hudson, Vanderbilt University;

The Apportionment of Legislative Seats, by Evan A. Iverson and Lee S. Greene, University of Tennessee;

Constitutional Provisions on Legislative Procedure, Constitutional Provisions on the Governor's Veto Power, each by Frank W. Prescott, University of Chattanooga;

Restrictions on the Governor's Pardon Power, by Lee S. Greene, University of Tennessee;

Office of Lieutenant-Governor, by Carson Brewer, University of Tennessee.

The **Newark Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc.** has issued a pamphlet, *Home Rule*, prepared by its director, Henry W. Connor, for **The Governor's Committee on Preparatory Research for the New Jersey Constitutional Convention**.

Rubbish, Sewers, Pests and Health

Norman N. Gill, Walter M. Swietlik, and George C. Saffran have presented a report to the Board of Estimates of Milwaukee on *Ashes, Rubbish and Garbage Collection* which reviews past practices, present administrative setup and operating conditions. Recommendations regarding organization, personnel, frequency of collection and disposal methods follow. The volume contains numerous tables and charts.

Just a Moment, published by the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, Inc.**, Sidney Detmers, managing director, outlines recent changes in the Buffalo Health Department, listing new positions, salaries and requirements. The organization of the department is described.

In another issue the Buffalo Sewer

Authority is analyzed with a summary of its financial data for 1945-46.

A committee of the **City Club of Portland**, reporting in the club's *Bulletin* on "Health Program in the Portland Public Schools" concludes, after examining dental programs, physical education, health education and mental hygiene, that "the health program in the Portland public schools is being carried on understandingly, sympathetically and, within budget limitations, vigorously."

A report to the **City Club** on "Mosquito Control in the Portland Area" discusses the methods used to cope with the problem and concludes that the Department of Public Works is taking steps in the right direction and that its continuance is imperative.

Research Brevities, **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research**, analyzes the proposed county health program and raises some questions on personnel, the desirability of state control, and the actual efficiency of the proposed plan. Tables illustrate the material.

Citizens' Business, **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research**, discusses various possible uses of the Municipal Stadium which is about to be repaired.

Bureau Activities, Plans and Problems

The second cooperative study by bureaus of public administration of seven southern universities and the **Regional Study Department of TVA** is now under way. The subject is technical services available to state and local governments. The **General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation** is contributing to the financing of this study which is designed to inform state and local officials where they can get help in solving their problems.

Methods of arousing public interest and support for research bureaus were discussed at the second quarterly conference of representatives of the munic-

ipal research bureaus of New York State under the auspices of the **Citizens Public Expenditure Survey**, James E. Finke, senior research analyst. The discussion brought out the fact that the average 1947 budget for the six non-political civic research bureaus in New York communities is \$16,000. These bureaus are in Buffalo, Lackawanna, Rochester, Schenectady, Utica and Yonkers. Each bureau has from two to four employees.

"How Are Your Public Relations?" is discussed by George Bestrom, executive vice-president of the **Minneapolis Taxpayers Association**, in a recent **Governmental Research Association Notes and References**.

The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Washington** has, as of September 1, 1947, changed its name to **Bureau of Governmental Research and Services**.

Annual Reports

Annual reports have been issued by: **Government Research Bureau, Inc.**, of Duluth, Harry R. Reid, executive secretary; **Citizens' Research Institute of Canada**, Horace L. Brittain, director; **New Haven Taxpayers Research Council, Inc.**, Merle W. DeWees, executive director; and the **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research**, Horace L. Brittain, managing director; **Jasper County Tax Economy Association**, Gerald N. Hardy, secretary.

Public School Costs and Administration

The Division of Publications of the **Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia**, has issued a *Report and Recommendations on the Public School System of New Kent County, Virginia*, prepared by Wilson K. Doyle of the bureau's staff. The problems facing the county, e.g., declining population and enrollment, lack of facilities, need for three separate school systems—white, Negro and Indian, and the

high tax burden, are dealt with. Recommendations include plans for a tri-county high school, better elementary school facilities for Negroes, higher salaries for teachers and publicly-owned school buses.

Increases in salaries of school teachers in San Francisco are reported in the *Bulletin of the San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research*, Alfred F. Smith, director. Accompanying the report are tables of comparison with other California cities regarding salaries and preparation required. Pupil and teacher ratios and per capita costs are compared with those in the 25 city school districts over 300,000 population throughout the country.

How to provide for the contemplated increases in teachers' salaries is the topic of *Citizens' Business*, issued by the **Bureau of Municipal Research in Philadelphia**. Since most of the funds must be raised through local taxes, the following proposals are discussed: mercantile license taxes, intangible property tax and additional real estate taxes.

The *Bulletin of the Rochester (New York) Bureau of Municipal Research* also deals with the problem of raising funds for the schools. An analysis of the formula for determining state aid for Rochester schools is presented. A table showing the actual application of this formula is included.

Cost vs. Quality

James A. Arnold, Jr., research associate of **Princeton Surveys**, has written an article on "School Expenditures and the Quality of Education" for *Notes and References of the Governmental Research Association*. Mr. Arnold maintains that costs are not the sole index of quality and points out the error of "measuring school performance in terms of school costs." Need for qualitative measurement is stressed.

In *Council Comment* the **New Haven Taxpayers Research Council, Inc.**,

Merle W. De Wees, executive director, agrees with a recent school survey report that improvements can be accomplished at little additional cost but does not concur on the need for a more independent board of education. Rather, it is cooperation between the board and city officials that is needed.

Juvenile Delinquency

The **New Jersey Legislative Commission to Investigate the Causes of Juvenile Delinquency**, David Van Alstyne, Jr., chairman, and Douglas H. MacNeil, secretary, has issued a comprehensive report on its findings. The report examines the general crime and delinquency picture in New Jersey, the main causes of juvenile problems, as well as the present methods of handling the situation. Statistics and charts are included as are recommendations for more efficient methods of handling juvenile misconduct, from the causes to the overt act.

The **Municipal League of Seattle** has published an article by Research Director Lorin Peterson on the problem of detention quarters for juvenile delinquents. The article is presented in a novel form, in the manner of a Socratic dialogue. Mr. Peterson suggests that the solution is to send children "promptly from the detention home to a foster home or wherever else the court decides" rather than to build expensive temporary detention homes.

Comparative Studies of State Tax Systems

A Comparative Study of the Tax System of the State of Washington, 188 pages, prepared by Professor Ralph I. Thayer, University of Washington, as a member of the **Advisory Committee on Taxation of the State Department of Conservation and Development**, covers state and local revenues and the incidence of taxes in nine states.

The **Oregon Tax Study Commission**,

S. J. Barrick, director of research, in *State and Local Tax Administration*, 14 pages, compares the organization of tax collecting agencies in Oregon with organizations in other states and discusses control of local tax procedures.

Another general study, *State Organization for Tax and Revenue Administration*, 25 pages, by Russell Barthell and Helen Campbell, **Bureau of Public Administration, University of California**, deals with tax administration in California and the reorganization of tax administration in several other states.

The **Utah Foundation** has issued a twenty-page report consisting of comparative tables on *Property Taxes in Western States, 1925-1946*.

Personnel Problems, Mostly About Money

A tabular comparison of salaries and qualifications for state social work positions in fourteen southern states has been compiled by Professor Gladys M. Kammerer of the **Bureau of Government Research of the University of Kentucky** in *Requirements for State Social Work Positions in the South*. The author also offers suggestions, e.g., scholarship assistance, educational leave provisions, abolition of residence requirements, and readjustment of salaries, to cope with the recruitment problem.

The **San Francisco Bureau of Government Research**, discusses the "Municipal Railway Wage Problem" in a recent *Bulletin*. A table comparing rates of pay by municipal transit systems in California is included.

Another *Bulletin* of the bureau deals with the fact that public payroll increase is the major factor in the city's 61 per cent budget increase in four years. Personal service expenditures for 1943-44 and 1947-48 are compared.

The **Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee**, Norman N. Gill,

director, reports on seasonal wage scales paid to full-time employees and discusses the rejection by the common council of a plan to pay such employees 80 per cent of the seasonal rate.

The bureau urges that the "total" compensation of city employees be broken down and that three elements—public contribution to pension reserves, the cost of living adjustment and the basic wage—be itemized in the city and county budgets.

"Government Employment in Utah" is the topic of a recent *Research Report* of the **Utah Foundation**, Stanley J. Stephenson, managing director. The report is illustrated with graphs and charts as well as a table showing the number of state employees in each of the 48 states.

In another *Research Report* the "Personnel of the Utah State Highway Department" is reviewed. Charts and graphs are included plus tables comparing organization and personnel of highway departments in eleven western states.

Representation, Efficiency and Other Local Problems

The **Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee** reports on a proposed formula, approved by Milwaukee's common council, which, if adopted by the legislature, would result in automatic redistricting within one year of each census so that each ward in the city would have one per cent of the total population of the state and elect one state assemblyman, one county supervisor and one councilman.

The **Los Angeles Bureau of Budget and Efficiency**, Francis M. Cummings, director, has been conducting a survey of organization, administration and management of the following administrative services common to several city departments: messenger service, printing and duplicating service, statistical and accounting tabulating service, public relations and reporting, and trans-

portation of officials and employees. The reports have been issued in several parts. Part VI is a 25-page "Summary Report" (preliminary) which summarizes the findings and conclusions on each of the services and recommends the creation of a bureau of central services in the executive department to be headed by a director appointed by the mayor subject to civil service.

Just a Moment, issued by **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, Inc.**, urges the restoration of importance to primary elections, warns against unopposed nominations, and suggests that party organizations designate three candidates for each office.

Just a Moment also has issued part IV of a series on Erie County government and a chart of its structure with a list of present major county officials.

Two other recent issues of *Just a Moment* carry summaries of the main features of the amended city home rule law.

The **Tuscaloosa Chamber of Commerce**, Paul Diamond, executive secretary, has published a study of *Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and Its Sister Cities*, which is based on questionnaires sent to cities in Tuscaloosa's census range. Various aspects of local administration are covered: pay of chief city executive, municipal income, number of patrolmen and their salaries, etc. One significant item uncovered was higher salary and activity level in city manager cities.

State-Local Government Topics issued by the **State Division of the Pennsylvania Economy League**, reports on output of the 1947 legislative session, noting that new laws "provide greater authority and more responsibilities for local officials."

The **P. E. L. Newsletter** published by the **Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc.**, Western Division, Leslie J. Reeve, director, summarizes "The Legislative Session and Greater Pittsburgh" during 1947 and considers the legislation obtained valuable.

Citizen Action Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Citizen Planners Study Community and Region

Seek New Mechanisms for Unity, Orderly Progress

THE NEED of rescuing cities from the results of long years of haphazard growth and decay, as well as unyielding municipal boundaries, is more and more giving concern to the layman, a concern which has led to the formation of numerous civic planning groups working on metropolitan area problems. The **Regional Plan Association of New York** has assembled in a 32-page pamphlet pertinent facts on these organizations—some fifteen in number—describing their purposes, current program, publications, support, etc., with street addresses and executive officers.

"The great growth in metropolitan organization and thinking cannot be overemphasized," says Frederick P. Clark, planning director of the association, in his introduction to the publication. "The movement of our city populations across city lines to the suburbs has raised problems which would never exist were the lines not there. While metropolitan planning is still in its infancy, the reports herein from metropolitan organizations demonstrate that new and useful mechanisms for coordinated municipal action are being built."

Another publication of the New York association is *Airports of Tomorrow*, a report of the Regional Airport Conference on its plan for development of an airport system for the New York metropolitan region. Printed on slick paper, the volume is well illustrated

with photographs, maps and charts. "Operation by a single agency of the major airports of the region," comments Paul Windels, president of the association, "is an essential if we are to achieve for the New Jersey-New-York-Connecticut metropolitan region the kind of integrated regional airport system that will maintain the area's prominence in air transport."

Getting the viewpoints of the groups which go to make up a city and its environs has been one task of the **Toledo Regional Planning Association**, Frank Sohn, president. Recent luncheon meetings on a master plan for the Toledo region have been devoted to "Labor's Viewpoint of Toledo Tomorrow," led by Frank Fischer, president of the Toledo Central Labor Union, as moderator, with labor officials participating, and "The Women's Viewpoint of Toledo Planning," with Mrs. C. Tracy LaCost, of the Toledo Women's Club, as moderator, and representatives of women's clubs, the schools, nurses' groups, etc., joining in the discussion.

The **Regional Association of Cleveland**, Ernest J. Bohn, director, has published its *Report No. 5 of the Cleveland Regional Geodetic Survey*, an engineering task organized by the association some years ago, and *Highway Committee Report on Cleveland Memorial Shoreway East within Gordon Park*. The association feels that the geodetic survey "is an absolute necessity for accurate engineering of public improvements. . . . Nearly as important, however, is the demonstration it has been of cooperation between public agencies. Local, state and federal governments have contributed to the cost of the work and have shared in its planning and direction."

Neighborhood Planning

Problems of the neighborhood and the need to "bring back the sense of home town" are not being overlooked in New York. "As both a gigantic whole and a vast collection of parts—the five boroughs, scores of dimly outlined communities, each a sizable city in itself, and hundreds of uneasily shifting neighborhoods—New York City now constitutes the world's number one assignment in city planning," says the **Citizens Union of New York** in *The Searchlight*. The union, of which George H. Hallett, Jr., is secretary, has worked out a program for community planning which subdivides the boroughs into "recognized districts as a basis for more orderly planning and decentralization of municipal services and community development." Some 75 such districts are suggested for the four larger boroughs—sixteen in Manhattan, twenty-two in Brooklyn, thirteen in the Bronx, and twenty-four in Queens.

The union asks for the cooperation of all civic groups and the public as a whole, as well as the city administration, to put the plan into effect.

"Your investment in the **South Side Planning Board** (Chicago) will pay dividends," says that organization, Robert E. Garrigan, executive secretary, in a pamphlet which resembles a stock certificate. "Coupons" bear the labels "lives saved," "improvements for workers," "greater return in service on tax dollar," "tax dollars saved," "reduction in communicable disease rates," "wholesome recreation for everyone," "less noise, soot and smoke nuisance," etc.

Accomplishment of another of its objectives is at least partially in sight for the **Louisville Area Development Association**, Kenneth P. Vinsel, executive director. A recent bulletin points out that in 1944 the association's Com-

mittee on Parks and Recreation recommended that sixteen additional neighborhood playgrounds be developed by the city and suggested approximate locations. Land has now been acquired by the city, reports the association, for three of these playgrounds.

Planning in the Schools

City Planning as Studied in the San Francisco Public Schools, a four-page leaflet issued by the **San Francisco Planning and Housing Association**, reports on what was done in the schools of that city during 1944-1946 to bring planning to the attention of school children. In 1943 a Teachers' Council was formed which arranged for a teachers' background course in community planning under the auspices of the University of California Extension Division. This course was followed in 1944 by one for in-service training which reached many more teachers.

Several teachers began experimental work with their pupils. So successful were these pioneering efforts, reports the association, that plans were laid for their extension. In the spring of 1946 planning materials were introduced in six schools covering all grade levels from kindergarten through high school.

Aided by a father, kindergartners made a wood and paper model of their neighborhood, showing the school, two churches, stores and a dangerous nearby intersection. They investigated the intersection and its signal light and proved that the light failed to allow enough time for children to cross the wide highway. Reported to the traffic department, this led to a change in timing. Pupils also made a model of an overpass which would eliminate the need of their crossing the highway.

Each grade had its own project, older children investigating the city of early days, learning how cities grew to their present size. Material de-

veloped will be made into a *School Handbook on Community Planning*.

Philadelphia has sixteen schools participating in an experimental program of planning education supervised by a full-time staff member. The Wichita City Planning Commission has published a pamphlet for school use to aid in planning instruction.

Sixty high school students of Wayne, Michigan, plus ten college students from Detroit, aided in a comprehensive survey of residents of the community in order to compile information as a background for long-range community planning. Questions asked by the student interviewers covered employment, shopping habits, family transportation, housing, income, recreation habits and plans for the future.

Recognizing that the field of planning has greatly expanded during recent years, the Graduate School of the University of North Carolina in 1946 organized a Department of City and Regional Planning. The department cooperates with others concerned with various phases of planning—economics, mathematics, political science, sociology, health, the Institute of Government and the Institute for Research in Social Science.

Cincinnati Charter Group Lists 'Goals Achieved and to Come'

As it enters its 24th year on behalf of decency and progress in local affairs, the **Cincinnati City Charter Committee**, Forest Frank, executive secretary, takes time out to review its achievements. During the first period of its work, 1924-1935, says the *Charter News Letter*, the committee secured for Cincinnati the manager form of government with proportional representation. In the following years it elected five successive majorities to the council and through them scored many outstanding achievements:

1. Rebuilt and reconditioned the city's badly deteriorated physical plant—streets, public buildings, administrative equipment, etc.;

2. Balanced the city's budget every year—in contrast to ten years of operating deficits immediately preceding, at the same time reducing taxes to the lowest among comparable cities;

3. Attained highest credit rating in municipal bond history up to that time;

4. Introduced centralized and competitive purchasing with savings of more than \$500,000 a year;

5. Built many miles of new sewers;

6. Fought for and obtained large scale reductions in gas, electric and water rates, saving every consuming family an average of better than \$30 a year, and the city as a whole upwards of \$50,000,000 over the years;

7. Achieved a national record in fire prevention and protection;

8. Created a waste collection and garbage disposal system that has become a model for other cities;

9. Starting from scratch, created over a thousand acres of playfields;

10. Eliminated politics from city employment, city contracts, and the day-to-day conduct of city business.

During the second period, 1935-1947, the committee was represented by four out of nine members on the city council. Even so it maintained most of its reforms and rallied support against die-hard opposition from the council majority for many constructive recommendations:

Preparation of a master plan; legislation for the \$41,000,000 bond issue authority; plan for the Mill-creek Barrier dam; slum clearance, low-cost housing and flood control projects; efforts to secure blighted areas legislation from the Ohio General Assembly; passage of a strong smoke elimination ordinance.

Much remains to be done, says the *News Letter*: Making the master plan and the smoke ordinance work, constructing a master airport, rehabilitating slum areas, correcting traffic problems, streamlining the local government and services, revamping the water supply setup, bringing new industry to Cincinnati.

Come on In—The Water's Fine!

At the 25th anniversary meeting of the **General Federation of Women's Clubs** representatives of 60,000 junior members were urged to enter party politics. "Possibly the hardest work I would like you to do," said Mrs. LaFell Dickinson, president of the federation, "is to enter into party politics. Get in at the grass roots in your ward precincts. Put in candidates who believe in the things you believe in and support them with all your might."

Mrs. Edith P. Welty, councilwoman from Yonkers since 1940, told graduates of **Mather College at Western Reserve University** that women "can do no greater service to their families and community than to take an active part in cleaning up their own city physically, morally and politically." Mrs. Welty, who knows whereof she speaks, continued: "You who enter the field of local politics in any capacity will find it interesting, stimulating, and extremely productive of good results and, if you are a patient optimist with a sense of humor, you will find local politics a lot of fun."

"How to Run for Public Office," by Sara Sparks, appears in the *Independent Woman*, published by the **National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs**. Material for the article was compiled from questionnaires sent to women in public office by Mrs. Sparks, the federation's public affairs chairman.

Voter Needs Studied

Convinced that the average voter does not have the proper kind of information on candidates at his disposal, the **Baltimore Citizens League** has appointed a committee, headed by its president, Dr. C. I. Winslow, to look into the matter and make recommendations. First step in the investigation is circulation of a questionnaire to league members asking their opinion on the type of information now available on candidates, the degree to which they have found it valuable, and what additional types of information they need to vote more intelligently. When the commission has determined the kind of information needed, a study will be made to determine how best to supply it to the voter. It is hoped to have a plan of action available prior to the 1948 city election.

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Yonkers Group Discusses P. R.

The **Young Men's Chamber of Commerce of Yonkers** plans a forum on proportional representation—the method of electing the city council in that city. Charles King, president, has announced that the forum will be educational, presenting speakers on both sides of the question.

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Greenwich Village Traffic Problems

Greenwich Village, famed neighborhood in New York City, has been worried about traffic conditions on its rambling streets. A "town meeting," called by the **Greenwich Village Association** whose president, Wade G. Bounds, presided, was attended by a hundred residents—many of them representing neighborhood civic, religious and patriotic organizations. Four of the most dangerous intersections were discussed by the assembly while Assistant Chief Inspector George A. Loures, commanding officer

of the Police Traffic Division, and his aides took copious notes. Inspector Loures promised a resurvey of the intersections in the light of the hazards described.

* * *

Seattle Text Book

A new text book on Seattle local government has been prepared jointly by the **Seattle Municipal League**, Loring Peterson, research director, and the Seattle school system. Chester D. Babcock, director of social studies in the schools, and Noah Davenport, head of the Franklin High School history department, supervised preparation of the manuscript. The *Seattle Municipal News* reports that the new book, illustrated with artwork and pictures, employs a light narrative style to give a citizen's-eye-view of the police, fire and other administrative departments of the city government, as well as the judiciary, the port of Seattle, the school district and King County.

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Young Voters Active

The **Young Voters** group of the **Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League**, Frank J. Richter, president, continues its activities, holding a recent radio debate, "Is Cincinnati an Old Man's Town?" The group's Taxicab Survey Committee has presented its report to the league's Board of Directors, which commended the excellence of the report and referred it to the City Committee "for joint pointing up and final recommendation." The group's Master Plan Committee is studying the literature of the Cincinnati City Planning Commission.

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'Lessons from the Flood'

Des Moines' recent experience with floods—a not uncommon occurrence—gives the **Des Moines Taxpayers As-**

sociation, Roy L. Miller, executive secretary, pause for thought. "Were it not for the inherent weaknesses of our local government," comments *Civic Flashes*, organ of the association, "much of this need not have occurred."

The bulletin points out that "the commission plan of city government is notorious all over the country as one which invites 'buck-passing' on the part of the councilmen. . . Neither individually nor collectively do our councilmen want to assume responsibility for either policy-making or administrative matters. . . Long-range planning is shunned continuously." The association complains that after the 1944 floods the city engineer made a thorough study of the situation with recommendations which, if followed, would have prevented much of this year's flood damage.

Another weakness pointed out is lack of morale among city employees, who failed to carry out orders to fill sand bags and place them on the levee at a certain point. As a result the levee was washed out. No disciplinary action has been taken, however.

* * *

Constitutional Revision

Revision of the Colorado state constitution has been made one of its program items by the **League of Women Voters of Colorado**, reports Ruth E. Pike, specialist in sociology of the Bureau of State and Community Service, University of Colorado Extension Division.

An attractive red, white and blue leaflet, titled *A Constitutional Convention for Illinois*, has been published by the **League of Women Voters of Illinois**, Mrs. Walter T. Fisher, president. Liberally sprinkled with cartoons and maps, it stresses the need for revision of Illinois' antiquated basic law and describes the procedure necessary to secure such revision.

'Let's Talk It Over'

The **National Institute of Social Relations**, Frank L. Weil, president, has been organized by some of the men and officers who were directly responsible for the war department's orientation program. These men have decided to carry on, in civilian life, the work they began in the service. The organization's keynote is "Let's talk it over," and it endeavors to promote discussion groups in the local community where citizens may gather and debate their problems—local to international. Six communities conducted experimental studies in community education. In each there has been established a community discussion council broadly representative of all major sections—officials, business, labor, veterans, women, youth, clergy, educators, etc. The institute seeks the answers to many questions: "What is the best way in which to proceed in order to arouse community interest in discussion of vital local, national and international issues? What kind of people in the community prove to be "the best helpers"? What gets and holds their interest? What is the best way in which they can help? What kind of people should be selected for training as discussion leaders? What is the minimum effective training program in discussion leadership?"

* * *

Voter Education

The **League of Women Voters of Boston**, Mrs. John J. Doyle, executive secretary, has announced that its voter education program is being widened in scope and placed on a year-round basis. A revised edition of its voter's manual and primer will be available to school children, particularly civics classes. Further education of voters in the use of voting machines is planned as well as a voter-service booth on Boston Common, where information on

candidates for city council and school committee will be distributed. The league continues its support of Plan E for Boston (manager plan, with proportional representation for city council and school committee)—a major project since 1937.

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Students Draft Constitution

Summer students of Professor James Robinson, government professor at **Northeastern State College of Oklahoma**, have prepared a proposed new state constitution in anticipation of a much discussed constitutional convention which may be called within the next two years. The students made an analysis of the state's present document, comparing it with the provisions of other state constitutions. In their new document they have incorporated the best features of all constitutions, adding a few improvements of their own. One of the guides consulted was the *National Municipal League's Model State Constitution*.

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Strictly Personal

The Citizens League of Cleveland has appointed **Guy Larcom, Jr.**, as its new director, succeeding Colonel Robert W. Chamberlain. Mr. Larcom, formerly with the *Christian Science Monitor* and the *Hartford Courant*, has been in the housing field for a number of years, most recently local action specialist, Region I, Office of the Housing Expediter in Boston, Massachusetts.

The Citizens Planning Association for the Development of the Cincinnati Area has appointed **Sherwood L. Reeder**, formerly director of master planning for the Cincinnati Planning Commission, as its executive secretary. Mr. Reeder succeeds **Walton R. L. Taylor** who has resigned to join the staff of the Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research.

Proportional Representation

*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Ten P. R. Referenda

Six Votes on Adoption Four Votes on Repeal

THE question of adopting new charters providing proportional representation for the election of the city council and school board will be presented to the voters of six cities on November 4, unless some defect is found in one or more of the petitions on file. On the same day four cities will vote on repeal of P. R.

Referenda on adoption of P. R. as part of the Massachusetts "Plan E" (council-manager plan) are scheduled in response to petitions filed in Worcester, Pittsfield, Fitchburg, Somerville, Medford and Revere. Plan E committees in these cities secured many more signatures to the petitions than necessary and plan vigorous campaigns.

The question of P. R. repeal will come up in New York City, Long Beach (New York), Cincinnati and Boulder (Colo.).

Groups considering changes in the Toledo charter have abandoned plans for precipitating a fifth P. R. repeal referendum this year. Only one proposal reached the city council, the so-called Damas plan which asked a vote on abandonment of the present charter for one providing the strong mayor plan with a council of nine elected by majority vote at large. It was defeated in the council, which voted against suspension of the rules to permit the issue to be placed on the November ballot.

There has been talk of a repeal refer-

endum in Wheeling, West Virginia, at an election next spring. The Wheeling Association, which secured adoption of P. R. in 1935, is preparing to lead the defense if the attack materializes.

The Cincinnati *Post* observed editorially on August 8 that, "The last council before P. R. comprised 32 members, all but one of whom was a puppet of the political machine" and expressed the opinion, "It is hardly a mere coincidence that during this time [before P. R.] of extravagance and waste of tax money, there was no effective minority to challenge the Republican organization's majority."

Making a similar point the New York *Herald Tribune* stated on September 6:

It [abolition of P. R.] would certainly weaken Republican representation in the city and, since Republicans rarely draw their full vote in the "off" years when municipal elections are held, would raise a real possibility of a return to the old days when the board of aldermen was a virtual monopoly of the Democratic party hacks. Worse than the change in party composition would be the certain deterioration in the quality of the councilmen. The able and independent minds which have been attracted to the council in recent years, and which P. R. has forced the organizations to seek out and support, would have no further entry once the seats were in effect restored as gifts of the machine.

The Communist Threat

Both in New York and Cincinnati an attempt has been made by repeal forces to capitalize on the intense un-

popularity of the Communists by asserting that P. R. with its chance for minority representation plays into their hands. Dealing with the issue as presented in Cincinnati, the *Catholic Telegraph-Register*, published by the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, stated:

The condition of Ireland is somewhat similar to that of Cincinnati, where we have good citizens, a stable community, a healthy militant conservatism, and where there is no danger of electing revolutionary radicals to the council of our city. The P. R. of Cincinnati has stood the test of 21 years. Before the advent of P. R. in Cincinnati we had a record of politics in the Queen City which will always be a disgraceful page in our history.

Dealing with this issue in New York, where the election of two avowed Communists among 23 councilmen in 1945 has been made the principal ground of attack on P. R., the New York *Herald Tribune* observed in the editorial quoted above:

Gerrymandering the Communists out of the council is not going to gerrymander them out of the city. Proportional representation has given them their fair representation, no more and no less, and so long as they are a legal party there is a great deal to be said for having them tagged and in the open rather than operating under the disguises at which they are so adept. There is no real Red issue here. The move to abolish P. R. is really a retrogressive move by the parties to regain the old, comfortable machine control of the council, and this newspaper sees no particular reason why the people of the city should oblige them.

Of the six Massachusetts communities which may vote on the question of

adopting a P.R.—manager form of government this fall, Somerville, Medford and Revere are situated close to Cambridge, whose success in municipal improvement since adopting Plan E has contributed greatly to the interest in Massachusetts in the possibilities of this form of government.¹ Five of the cities have substantial importance as manufacturing centers.

Catholic Newspaper Points Out Advantages of P. R.

In an editorial in its August 22 issue, titled "P. R. in Cincinnati," the third of a series on the subject, the *Catholic Telegraph-Register* lists some of the benefits which it believes P. R. has brought to the city:

"For 21 years the P. R. system has given us honest government in the Queen City. For 21 years the P. R. system has assured minority representation in the council of the city of Cincinnati. For 21 years the matching of Republicans and Charterites in the central place of counting votes has prevented irregularities and dishonesty. The counting of votes in one central place is very important to exclude dishonest counting. For 21 years the minority in council, whether that minority was made up of Republicans or of Charterites, assured the city that measures before the council would be discussed publicly. Public opinion owing to discussion did influence the majority members. . . .

"If the P. R. system is rejected in Cincinnati we shall have in due time only one party in control. There will be nine members of that one party. These nine members will be elected not on the basis of their moral principles but on their willingness to

(Continued on page 538)

¹See "Cambridge Does It Again," the REVIEW, September 1947, page 444.

Blue Earth County Surveys Public Health

Issues Report on Activities of Three Government Levels

THE Council on Intergovernmental Relations of Blue Earth County, Minnesota, has issued its second report on the possibilities of cooperative activities of the governmental units in the area. In *A Study of Public Health Administration in Blue Earth County, Minnesota* (86 pages), it chose to select one significant activity in which several governmental units participate to demonstrate the possibilities of better service through closer intergovernmental cooperation.

It selected the field of public health for the following reasons:

1. Since it is the concern of such a large number of governmental units and agencies, it is admirably suited to demonstrate the practical use of the community reporting system recommended in the study;

2. The health services now being provided by local units of government are at a minimum;

3. Public health provides, on a smaller scale and more concretely, all the problems and complicating factors involved in the over-all field of intergovernmental relations;

4. Health is one of the most fertile fields for intergovernmental cooperation—most health problems are shared by all jurisdictions;

5. A considerable expansion of governmental activity in the field of public health may be expected, stimulated especially at the federal level.

Functions that the council surveyed included maintenance of vital statistics, communicable disease control, sanitation, inspection of food, facilities and institutions, maintenance of water supply, garbage removal and sewage disposal, maternity and infant care, pre-school and school health, care of crippled and dependent children, nursing service, laboratory service, housing and several other phases of health administration.

Jurisdictions it surveyed included units of federal, state and local governments and numerous non-governmental organizations engaged in public health work. The major recommendation it presented was that legislation permitting a community health unit to be established by one or more counties be enacted. The council recognized that this recommendation contained nothing original and, in fact, that such legislation was already in effect in three-fourths of the states.

County Has 300 Offices

The council observed that Blue Earth County contained 155 units of local government, offices of 105 state agencies and offices of 38 federal agencies, comprising a total of 298 units and offices. It emphasized that while local government functions were increasing in number and complexity, the available financial resources and skilled personnel were not experiencing comparable growth. The result was greater dependence on the state and federal governments for financial assistance and technical guidance. Inevitably such assistance is accompanied by controls imposed upon the local units until, as the council observed, the term "local government" could be changed to the more apt term "government locally."

The council stated that the solution would be found in consolidation and cooperation, but it foresaw little progress through compulsory methods. It recommended practical demonstration of cooperative action in various functional fields. It reiterated its belief that coordinated reporting of all government in the community was a first essential to a unified approach to functions overlapping jurisdictional lines.

The need for effective reporting to establish a receptive public attitude toward governmental improvement was emphasized by the council's statement regarding the public attitude toward a broad governmental program for public health. It declared:

The traditional fear of governmental interference is especially evident in the field of health, where the personal element is so much involved. This factor continues to act as a brake against extending the health program.

Although there has been widespread participation in the Blue Cross and other hospital insurance programs, the community is united in its opposition to whatever savors of "socialized medicine."

There is a resistance to any extension of federal activity and to the local use of federal funds.

The good relations that exist between the State Health Department and local units depend upon the state's "hands off" policy rather than upon an effective and cooperative working agreement.

Local health officers themselves reflect the passive attitude of the community toward sanitary conditions.

Among the different units there is the tendency to think only in terms of their own assignments. An instance of this is the failure of county and

school to pool their staffs of public health nurses, even in the face of the present critical shortage.

Census Bureau Reports on Counties

The U. S. Bureau of the Census recently released two publications, *County Finances: 1945, Preliminary Summary* and *County Employment in 1947*, constituting the latest issues in the two series initiated several years ago.

County Finances: 1945 observes developments in the year beginning the postwar period and compares the new trends with those of the war years. County governments entered the period with moderate fund balances accumulated during the war as a result of the high level of economic activity which had facilitated prompt payment of local taxes and increased the yield of some locally-shared state taxes. Another contributing factor was that capital expenditures had decreased greatly and even maintenance expenditures for highways and buildings had dropped below prewar figures. Consequently, in each of the years 1942 through 1945, general revenues exceeded total expenditures, including debt service charges.

Total revenue of the 3,050 "independent county governments" in 1945 (\$1,720,000,000) exceeded that of 1944 by almost 4 per cent. General expenditures (\$1,696,000,000) represented slightly more than 4 per cent increase over 1944. The largest percentage of increase took place for highways; the smallest for public welfare. It is asserted that 1945 probably represents only the beginning of the anticipated rise in postwar capital expenditures.

Debt service requirements decreased almost 11 per cent in the year, and net debt decreased 7 per cent. From 1942 to 1945 total gross debt decreased from two billion to one and a half

billion dollars. The largest county indebtedness, computed on a per capita basis, was borne by counties containing more than 250,000 population.

The financial survey revealed the increasing importance of county-owned enterprises. In 1945, 100 were reported not including those economic undertakings whose accounts were not maintained separately from the general accounts of the county. Their operating revenues amounted to \$10,000,000 and their long-term debt to \$23,000,000. The 32 alcoholic beverage dispensaries of North Carolina and Maryland counties alone had gross profits of \$5,600,000. Many county airports had not yet been returned by the army at the close of 1945. Other enterprises included 22 water supply systems and several toll bridges.

County Employment in 1947 is part of the *Government Employment* series of the Census Bureau and is published annually. It contains comparative statistics for large county governments for the month of January of each year and, on the basis of sampling methods of compilation, presents general statistics for all county governments.

Excluding school employees, there were 343,000 county employees in January 1947, representing an 8 per cent increase over the preceding January. In total amount of payroll, the increase in the one-year period was 14 per cent. Comparison with January 1940 and January 1943 figures revealed that 1947 county employment was 5 per cent above the prewar level and 11 per cent above the low figure reached in the middle of the war period. In terms of payroll, however, the January 1947 figures were 64 per cent above those for January 1940.

Seven per cent of all government employees or 14 per cent of all local government employees were employed

by counties in January 1947. California led the list in number of county employees with twice as many as the next highest state, Tennessee. Adding those in New York, Virginia, Ohio, Texas and Michigan, almost half of the county employees in the United States are in these seven states. It was emphasized, however, that in making comparisons among states due regard must be given to the fact that the distribution of functions between the state and its counties varies greatly from state to state.

Oregon Authorizes County Planning

The 1947 Oregon legislature adopted a statute authorizing any county in the state to establish a planning commission.¹ Any commission established by a county would have jurisdiction over preparation of a land development pattern, land-use regulations and subdivision control in unincorporated areas. In enacting the law the legislature followed the recommendations of the Governor's Committee on Rural Zoning, appointed in 1945 at the suggestion of the League of Oregon Cities.

In making its study of conditions in unincorporated areas, the committee ascertained that the fringe areas of many cities were almost as densely populated as the cities themselves. It anticipated that from 25 per cent to 40 per cent of future industrial development and 50 per cent of residential development would be outside the large cities. Already subdivisions are being developed without regard to coordination with roads, streets or sidewalks in the area. Residential areas in the suburbs also are being blighted by the intrusion of industry.

The statute permits any county court (legislative body) to appoint a county planning commission to prepare a pat-

¹Chapter 537, Oregon Laws 1947.

tern for the physical and economic development of the county. The pattern could include zoning and land-use regulations and after its adoption by the commission it would be submitted to the county court for enactment of appropriate ordinances. Ordinances establishing zoning and land-use regulation would require final approval by popular referendum.

Texas Legislature Enacts Road Reform

The 1947 Texas legislature enacted an optional county road law which will permit local roads to operate as a county unit rather than as four separate precincts as at present. Adoption of the plan by any county requires an initiative petition signed by at least 10 per cent of the voters and approval by popular referendum.

The plan establishes a county road department including the commissioners court (legislative body) as the policy-making body and the county road engineer, appointed by the commissioners court for an indefinite term, as chief executive officer. The engineer appoints and removes road department personnel with the approval of the commissioners court, supervises administration of the road department, prepares road budgets and specifications, and serves as custodian of all equipment.

Approximately 30 Texas counties voted on the plan in August when a proposed constitutional amendment also was submitted to the voters of the state.

County road jurisdiction in Texas also was enlarged recently by the attorney general's ruling that counties are authorized to spend road funds within city limits if the city approves.

Correction.—In this department for

September, page 468, Baton Rouge and East Baton Rouge Parish were inadvertently placed in Alabama instead of Louisiana.

CATHOLIC NEWSPAPER POINTS OUT ADVANTAGES OF P. R.

(Continued from page 534)

be controlled by the bosses. The bosses do not want independent men, nor do they want men of high moral principles. . . .

"Coming elections are apt to be very bitter. We hope our people will become thoroughly aroused, and we trust that the electorate will not turn over the city of Cincinnati to political bosses. If we have nine members of one political party in council, those men, in all probability, will carry out the bidding always of the political bosses. . . .

"The editors of this paper again ask their readers to think seriously before rejecting the P. R. system which has insured an honest and a better moral government of the city for 21 years."

P. R. League Will Meet November 14

The annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League, to be held in connection with the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, is scheduled for November 14 at the Hermitage Hotel, Nashville, Tennessee. Reports on this fall's P. R. elections as well as the referenda described above will be presented. The program for all conference sessions (November 12-14) will be mailed to P. R. League members in the near future.

Taxation and Finance*Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Price Fixing Hit by Purchase Agents

Cite City Officers' Aid in Federal Anti-trust Drive

AID OF governmental purchasing agents in the current anti-trust drive of the U. S. Department of Justice was revealed at the opening sessions of the National Institute of Governmental Purchasing in New York City in September. Public purchasing agents were urged to further governmental economy by investigating and reporting all cases of identical bids as well as cases where only one bid is received.

Citing the fact that taxpayers' money can be saved by reporting suspected instances of collusive bidding on contracts offered to local governments, Joseph W. Nicholson, purchasing agent of Milwaukee, stated: "As a result of such reports by public purchasing agents, federal complaints are now pending against manufacturers of fire alarm, mimeograph and chlorinating equipment, also against manufacturers of surgical dressings and business forms."

Cases have already been concluded successfully by the Department of Justice against parking meter and fire engine manufacturers.

Use of the purchasing agents' institute as a clearing house for information on price-fixing and similar evidences of collusive bidding for governmental contracts was urged by Mr. Nicholson and by James A. Murtagh, commissioner of investigation of the City of New York. Mr. Murtagh said, "If you know of any racketeering or conspiracy to fix prices

you should bring it before the Department of Justice. Only in that manner can you put an end to racketeering."

The agents were warned to watch invitations for bids carefully so as to prevent insertion of language in effect excluding all but one bidder or manufacturer, and to require the bidder to name the manufacturer of the product offered.

San Francisco Adopts Sales Tax

San Francisco, second largest of the California cities, has now followed the lead of Los Angeles, Long Beach and over 50 smaller municipalities of the state in enacting a city sales tax.

The San Francisco tax became effective October 1 and will be levied at the rate of one-half of one per cent. It is expected to yield about six million dollars annually. In Los Angeles a tax at the same rate is anticipated in the 1947-48 budget to produce more than nine million dollars.

The first large city to adopt a sales tax was New York City, whose tax is now 2 per cent. It produced more than \$45,000,000 last year. St. Louis, Kansas City and New Orleans are other large municipalities where sales taxes have been in effect for some time.

In upstate New York, Erie County recently adopted a sales tax, revenues from which are earmarked exclusively for local school districts.

Income Tax for School District

Under broad revenue powers conferred by the 1947 session of the Pennsylvania legislature, the Coraopolis school district of that state has be-

come the third local unit of government in the United States to enact an income tax; the other two are Philadelphia and Toledo.

The new income tax is provided for in the district's 1947-48 budget, which calls for a tax of one per cent on all wages, commissions and fees of residents and on net profits of business and industry. The tax is to become effective January 1, but is dependent on passage by the school board of a special local tax law.

The district imposed the income tax pursuant to authority granted by the 1947 Pennsylvania legislature, giving political subdivisions, except first-class cities and second-class townships, authority to tax "privileges, transactions, subjects, occupations and personal property" if not taxed by the state. Not only local income taxes but also sales, amusement, wage and occupation taxes in large variety may be levied. Excepted are taxes on gross receipts of utilities and such others as might be imposed by the state in the future. In case the state imposes a tax already imposed by a local government, the municipal ordinance involved is automatically vacated.

Local Borrowing Heavy

Multi-million dollar financing by the states and their local subdivisions is pushing the volume of new bond sales this year to new peaks. Aided by issuance of \$105,000,000 revenue bonds of the recently organized Chicago Transit Authority, state and municipal bond sales for August 1947 reached \$189,585,733, according to *The Daily Bond Buyer*. Other large issues included \$22,868,000 of the Boston Metropolitan Commission, \$10,000,000 of the state of New Jersey, and \$5,000,000 of the state of North Carolina. The August 1947 total compared with \$67,525,776 issued in August 1946. For the first

eight months of 1947, issues totaled \$1,747,218,569, compared with \$807,235,995 for the corresponding 1946 period.

Despite the large volume of new borrowing, authorizations continue virtually unabated. *The Bond Buyer's* "Inventory of Proposed State and Municipal Bond Issues," compiled periodically from the record of authorizations approved by legislatures, the voters, local governing bodies, etc., and announced plans for new financing, reached a total of \$6,223,000,000 at September 1, 1947. It had climbed from \$2,368,000,000 November 15, 1945, to \$4,577,000,000 November 15, 1946, and passed the six billion level by July 1, 1947. Of the September 1, 1947, total \$2,850,000,000 represents proposals for states and state agencies, \$3,374,000,000 for municipalities.

St. Louis Finances Surveyed

Recommendations for economy in administration and services and for additional revenues to strengthen the city's finances have been made to St. Louis citizens and officials by the Citizens Tax Commission, Robert E. Blake, chairman, in a recent report to Mayor A. P. Kaufmann.

Citing the fact that the city's general operating fund ended each year from 1928 to 1942 with a cumulative deficit, and has now used up a modest surplus built during the war years, the commission recommended a broad program to reduce expenditures and increase efficiency, and proposed a variety of new revenue sources for official consideration.

Specific recommendations for economy included transfer of two city institutions for the insane and mentally deficient to the state, employment of experts to review the administrative

units of the city, and revision and modernization of the city charter. It was pointed out that St. Louis is the only place in Missouri having its own institutions for the care of the mentally ill, all other cities and counties sending their mental cases to state institutions.

An interesting feature of the commission's report is that it attempted to follow up in some detail the recommendations made in a survey report of 1941 prepared by the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute with the assistance of Griffenhagen and Associates. In no department did it find that all the 1941 recommendations had been followed, and in some instances it found compliance to have been negligible.

Revenue proposals were led by the suggested use of a city income tax, preferably in conjunction with a 50 per cent reduction in the state income tax with the city tax as an offset and to be collected by the state. Other proposals were for increases in city liquor taxes, imposition of an amusement admissions tax, a sewer service charge equal to 25 per cent of the water bill, increase in the city cigarette tax from two to three cents per pack, and increased city participation in such state-collected charges as the gasoline tax, drivers license fees, etc. It was also recommended that the proposed survey of the city include examination of water department finances to determine whether there was a water fund surplus which might be used for general purposes.

Sales Tax Vote in Oregon

At a special election to be held October 7, voters of Oregon will pass on two tax measures, one referred by the legislature and one on the ballot by

petition. The measures are a sales tax and a tax on cigarettes, the latter not to be effective, however, if the sales tax is enacted.

Not only is the fate of the cigarette tax (if approved by the voters) contingent on the fate of the sales tax, but effectiveness of other legislation also depends on the voters' judgment on the sales tax. Most of the sales tax revenue would be earmarked to replace school, city and county real property taxes, with part to support the state general fund. If the sales tax fails of passage, then under 1947 legislation the state income tax will be put on a withholding basis and exemptions will be lowered; if the sales tax is enacted income tax exemptions will be raised.

Water Rates in Oregon Cities Studied

A comprehensive study and tabulation of water rates and other pertinent data on water supply and distribution systems in cities in Oregon has been published in the August issue of *Western City*, monthly organ of the leagues of municipalities in the far west.

Based on material compiled by Henry F. Beistel, research assistant of the Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon, the study provides detailed information on the systems and water rates in 125 cities. Of the total, 114 are municipally-owned and eleven are privately owned. Rates are shown on the basis of fixed quantities of water consumed in the various brackets and for various classes of consumers, facilitating intercity comparisons by the reader. An interesting feature is the inclusion of data on policy in respect to charges for service to city, fire and school purposes.

Local Affairs Abroad Edited by James E. Gates

Boundary Commission Makes Progress

Has Cooperation and Good Will of Local Authorities

THE LOCAL Government Boundary Commission in Great Britain¹ has approached its tremendous task—making, so far as practicable, all local government authorities effective and convenient units—with caution and with great respect for the traditions and reputation of the system which it has the duty of reforming, reports *Local Government Finance* (London), official journal of the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants. The commission has already achieved much by securing “the active good will and co-operation of the local authorities themselves,” an essential condition for the successful accomplishment of the commission’s aims.

Following its appointment in October 1945, the commission commenced investigations in fifteen major areas. In the first eight months it held 191 conferences with representatives of local authorities of all types—at the authorities’ own offices.

In the course of these investigations it became evident that in nearly all cases the problem is complicated by the existence of common or inter-related problems affecting a number of local authorities, or by the cumulative effect upon a county or counties of proposals for extension by a number of county boroughs and of claims for county borough status by non-county boroughs. This has meant that the

several areas must of necessity be reviewed together. For example, in the review of five areas in Staffordshire and Worcestershire, and of four in Somerset and Gloucestershire, conferences with 30 and 23 authorities respectively were involved.

Some measure of the overlapping complication can be gathered from the fact that 37 counties and 80 county boroughs have indicated their desire for some alteration; while in addition 44 authorities have proposed the creation—either individually or in amalgamation—of 33 new county boroughs.

The major policy issues involved in the work of the commission led the Minister of Health, when questioned on the commission’s report, to observe that he “would prefer the whole matter to be examined in a kind of national discussion and debate, because it may be necessary to alter the commission’s powers very widely indeed.”

It is clear that the commission has raised the whole question of the aggregate pattern—or patterns—of the structure of the local government system as at present, and the answers to the question may produce even more revolutionary proposals than are at present within the purview of the commission—such as regional bodies.

Compensation Plan for Nationalized Utilities Protested

The Association of Municipal Corporations of the United Kingdom has made strong protests to the Prime Minister relative to the compensation to be paid municipal undertakings under the transport and electricity bills, as well as that part of the government’s proposal which would exclude elected representatives from the

¹See “England Plans Area Changes,” by Shena D. Simon, the REVIEW, July 1945, page 332.

day-to-day control of local transport and electricity supply.

A proposal that compensation should be paid for loss of profits was put to the Standing Committee of the House, where it was defeated, on the basis that so far as undertakings promoted capital expansion out of reserve it was taken out of the pockets of consumers and not from the pockets of taxpayers. The Minister of Fuel said that in so far as local authorities incurred an actual loss financially he would consider devising a system of compensation.

Later the Minister of Fuel advanced the amount of £5,000,000, for electricity undertakings, which was to be confined to "the problem of the increased overhead charges which local authorities would have to meet for the purpose of adjusting their municipal accounts." In the case of transport the figure has been set at £2,500,000, and for ports and harbors £200,000.

It seems clear that there is to be no compensation for loss of contributions to the general city revenues, or for loss of right to income tax setoff benefits. As one critic put it, there was to be "no reward for the virtuous and no penalty for those who have over-indulged in borrowing to finance capital expenditure."

Interest Rates on Old Loans Reduced in United Kingdom

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, according to the *Municipal Journal and Local Government Administrator* (London) has announced that £15,000,000 has become available to reduce the interest on loans borrowed at high rates by local authorities in past years from the local loans fund. The chancellor said:

The redemption of local loans stock has created a disposable surplus of £15,000,000 in the local loans fund. This surplus will be

used to reduce all rates of interest on outstanding balances from the fund, in excess of 4¼ per cent, to this figure. This does not affect the so-called "Addison" loans to local authorities, where relief is already given by the exchequer. This reduction will take effect from 1st June, 1947.

Two-thirds of all the local authorities concerned, numbering nearly 2,000, will benefit from these reductions of interest rates. Most of these are small authorities, with very limited financial resources. This relief will, therefore, be a further practical example of the benefit to the nation of cheaper money.

English Local Finance Reported to Commons

Incomes of local authorities in England and Wales, their sources and magnitude, are revealed in a report made to the House of Commons. Total revenues raised locally, by years from 1936 to 1943, and the additional revenue from exchequer grants during each of these years, were as follows:

Year Ended	Income from Local Rates	Income from Government Grants
March 31	(£ Millions)	(£ Millions)
1936	164.9	132.9
1937	172.8	135.6
1938	177.3	136.1
1939	191.4	140.2
1940	201.3	181.9*
1941	203.9	226.0*
1942	198.9	278.3*
1943	200.4	248.1*

*Includes reimbursement from government departments in respect of emergency services.

Saskatchewan Utilities—All but One Publicly-Owned

The entire Saskatchewan holdings—exclusive of the Lloydminster unit—of Canadian Utilities Limited, with head offices at Calgary, Alberta, have been purchased by the Saskatchewan Power Commission for \$3,600,000, according to a statement placed before the legis-

lature by the provincial minister of natural resources and industrial development.

The purchase adds 419 miles of transmission and 217 miles of distribution lines to the Saskatchewan Power Commission holdings. It includes 21 oil and three steam generating units and a total of 11,147 new consumers in 38 new electric unit communities.

With the exception of one private company and a few isolated units all of the electric power system of Saskatchewan is now under public ownership.

Storm of Criticism in Union of South Africa

Remonstrances have been voiced repeatedly during the past few years against the central government's attitude toward local government in the Union of South Africa, reports the *South African Municipal Magazine* (Johannesburg). But such remonstrance has never been so outspoken as it was recently when in a short space of time the government was taken to task by members of the Institute of Treasurers and Accountants, the United Municipal Executive, and by delegates to the Cape Province Municipal Congress.

According to I. Q. Holmes of the institute, the government has become a "slave to the very unwise and exasperating habit of 'passing the buck,' with the result that most South African municipalities are finding it exceedingly difficult today to cope with the burdens thrown upon their backs by the government, and indeed the financial resources of several towns have been almost crippled by the government's 'devil take the hindmost' game of delegating national functions to local authorities without giving them the necessary financial assistance."

The criticism of the United Municipal Executive was directed to what it called a tendency of the government

"to pass legislation with a flagrant disregard for the opinion of municipal authorities." It adds, "the government often makes itself look rather more than foolish by refusing to consider outside opinion—at the time of writing it is proposed to suspend the unemployment insurance act owing to the complaints received from municipal and private sources in many parts of the country."

Much of the contention is laid to the fact that provincial legislation for control of local affairs was introduced no less than 40 years ago (at the time of the union) and has not been overhauled sufficiently to meet present-day conditions. One of the members of the United Municipal Executive commented that, "If a complete collapse of local government in South Africa is to be prevented the government must be brought to its senses."

Capetown Develops Industrial Site

For years Capetown, South Africa, has had very little land within its boundaries to offer to industries, but soon, it is reported, there will be plenty of sites for sale in the Epping Industrial Township. Having concluded its negotiations with the government regarding cost, the city has secured title to the Epping Forest Reserve and the town's planners have already completed the design of what they declare to be "the finest laid out industrial area in the Southern Hemisphere."

It is planned to dispose of the sites by private sale at £1,600 per acre. The city will provide roads, drainage, sewerage, water, electric light and power, and railway service lines. The layout also makes provision for an emergency hospital, recreation center, railway yards, bus station, fire station and gardens for the use of workers during lunch hours.

Monkeys to Go Says Durban Council

A final decision has been reached on the long-debated question of whether or not Durban's monkeys should be exterminated. On May 9, by sixteen votes to four, the city council authorized the destruction by humane means of most of the monkeys in the city at a cost of about £100.

Causes of Drift Cityward in Australia

The causes, reputed or otherwise, of the drift toward centralization of population in Australia have been analyzed by the Central Planning Authority of Victoria, in its *Planning Bulletin*, as follows:

1. Decline of gold mining;
2. Scarcity and want of continuity of employment;
3. Closing of small industries and removal of larger ones from country centers to metropolitan areas;
4. Better opportunities for employment at higher wages and under better conditions in the city;
5. Lack in country districts of various trades at which young men could become skilled workmen;
6. Neglect in development of country resources;
7. Impediments to the occupation of land in mining districts by old-time restrictions and objections;
8. Want of systematized rural organization;
9. General dullness of country life;
10. Deficiencies and disabilities surrounding country life;
11. Unattractiveness of the agricultural industry to young men;
12. Isolation of farm life;
13. Effect of railway freights on secondary industries in the country;

14. Absorption by city firms of a large measure of trade which formerly went to country houses, thus restricting the growth of country industries and businesses and closing avenues of employment in country towns and swelling the stream of population to the city.

George Bernard Shaw Becomes Municipal Officer

George Bernard Shaw was recently made the first freeman of the borough of St. Pancras, London, where the distinguished playwright and author served as vestryman from 1897 to 1900 and then—when the vestries became boroughs—as a member of the first borough council.

According to a fellow-member of this first borough council, Mr. Shaw was a diligent member, attending all meetings of the council and its committees. On one occasion, it is recounted, one of his plays was opening at a West End theatre. It was a great success and at the fall of the curtain there was a call for the author, which only ceased when the audience was told the author was not present. He was attending a subcommittee meeting of the health committee of the borough council.

A member of the Fabian Society, he was always outspoken and vehement on behalf of any reform of municipal machinery and, according to *Local Government Service* (London), "gave six of the best years of his life to the cause of running and improving local government."

Unable to attend the ceremony, GBS sent a characteristic message that "we must insist on Parliament getting back to the municipal system, the committee system, and really be able to get to work."

Books in Review

Trend of Tax Delinquency, 1930-1946, Cities of Over 50,000 Population. By Frederick L. Bird. New York, Dun & Bradstreet, Municipal Service Department, 1947. 39 pp. \$3.

Initiated in 1932, this annual study of tax delinquency and tax collections in cities of over 50,000 population now gives the picture of depression, recovery World War II, and the first postwar year. Year-end current tax delinquency, which has declined steadily since 1933, continued its downward course in 1946, the median for the group of cities standing at 3.20 per cent of the year's levy compared with 3.30 per cent in 1945. Median delinquency had risen from 10.15 per cent in 1930 to a 1933 peak of 26.35 and by 1939 had fallen below the 1930 level.

The study shows, however, that total tax collections are now past their peak, the back tax payments of the years of prosperity having made their inroads on the accumulated backlog of delinquent taxes which was the legacy of the depression. The median ratio of combined current and back tax collections to the year's levy had drifted down from 101.2 per cent in 1943 to 100.8 per cent in 1945 and 100.3 per cent in 1946.

Other data shown for cities in the over 50,000 group are the percentage uncollected at the end of the 1946 fiscal year of each of the three preceding tax levies, and the relationship of the accumulated total of uncollected taxes to the 1946 levy.

W. S. S.

The Making of the New Jersey Constitution. Reprint of Introduction to the Proceedings of the New Jersey State Constitutional Convention of 1844 Together with a New Foreword.

By John Bebout. 1945. cxx pp. \$1. (Apply New Jersey League of Women Voters, 790 Broad Street, Newark.)

Like all the states, New Jersey has had a long and checkered career in state constitutional developments. This evolution began in remote English history and continued in the colonial period. Out of this ancient history and the fires of the Revolution came the constitution of 1776 which endured until 1844 when a new fundamental law for New Jersey took its place. In spite of a number of amendments in 1875, the fundamentals of the constitution of 1844 were still in force in 1947.

For a broad understanding of constitutional problems in New Jersey, a careful reading of Mr. Bebout's essay on the making of the constitution of 1844 is recommended. Like many of the early state constitutions, New Jersey's fundamental law of 1776 was emphatically on the side of legislative supremacy. As the author indicates, the constitution of 1776 was criticized on that score and for other reasons such as the lack of a comprehensive bill of rights.

The proponents of a new constitution were strongly motivated by the doctrine of a separation of powers, the balanced symmetry of the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. Accordingly, the most significant divisions in the convention of 1844 had to do with such questions as position and powers of the governor, composition of the courts, terms of the legislature, and methods of amendment.

The makers of the constitution of 1844 were determined to avoid legislative supremacy, as the framers of the 1776 document were adamant against executive dominance. They embraced the separation of powers

doctrine but unfortunately produced a weak executive without broad powers over an integrated administrative mechanism. As public administration has expanded in functions and intensity, this 1844 decision has plagued New Jersey to this day.

Since this fundamental issue has again been raised in the New Jersey constitutional convention of 1947, Mr. Bebout's analysis of the historical evolution of legislative supremacy and separation of powers in New Jersey makes timely reading, and students of state government and administration will get a deeper appreciation of the historical forces making for a weak executive in many American states.

ARTHUR W. BROMAGE

University of Michigan

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments.)

Budgets

State Budgets Submitted in 1947. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1947. 23 pp.

Employment

City Employment in 1946; Industrial and Occupational Shifts of Employed Workers: August 1945 to August 1946; and State and Local Government Employment in Selected Metropolitan Areas in 1947. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1947. 56, 12, and 11 pp. respectively.

Federal Government

United States Government Manual—1947 (Second Edition—Revised through June 1, 1947. Washington 25, D. C., Government Information Service, Office of Government Reports, 1947. v, 713 pp.

\$1. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.)

Fire Prevention

Local Fire Administration in Pennsylvania. By Elizabeth Smedley. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, 1947. iv, 138 pp.

Standards for Grandstands, Tents and Other Places of Outdoor Assembly. By Committee on Places of Outdoor Assembly. Boston, National Fire Protection Association, 1946. 23 pp. 25 cents.

Governmental Activities

An Inventory of Governmental Activities in the United States.¹ By Carl H. Chatters. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1947. 15 pp. 75 cents.

Hospitals

The Hospital Act and Your Community. Washington 25, D. C., Division of Hospital Facilities, U. S. Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency, 1947. 16 pp. illus.

Hospital Quiz. Hospital Survey and Construction Program—Law and Regulations. What Is a Hospital System? Why We Need More Hospitals. Washington, D. C., U. S. Public Health Service, Division of Hospital Facilities, 1947. 15, 11, 7 and 12 pages respectively.

Labor and Industry

Management-Labor Cooperation in Cutting Costs. A Statement by the Labor Committee on National Policy. Washington, D. C., National Planning Association, 1947. 4 pp.

Massachusetts Proposals for Better Industrial Relations. The Report of the Governor's Labor-Management Committee. Boston, The New England Council, 1947. 41 pp.

¹For a discussion of this publication see page 503.

Population

Migration in the United States: August 1945 to August 1946. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1947. 10 pp.

New York City's Population Growth 1790-1970. New York City, Consolidated Edison Company, Economic Research Department, 1946. 28 pp.

Public Opinion Polls

Qualitative Measurement of Public Opinion. The Quintamimensional Plan of Question Design. By George Gallup. Princeton, New Jersey, American Institute of Public Opinion, 1947. 8 pp.

Public Safety

Accident Facts—1947 Edition. Chicago 6, National Safety Council, 1947. 96 pp. 50 cents.

Purchasing

Proceedings of the First Annual Conference and Products Exhibit of the National Institute of Governmental Purchasing. Tips on Buying—A Practical Guide to Efficient and Economical Public Buying. Washington, D. C., The National Institute of Governmental Purchasing, 1946 and 1947. 27 and 8 pp. respectively.

Taxation and Finance

Central Service Charges Against State Special Revenue Funds. By John C. Crowley. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1947. 8 pp. 35 cents.

City Property Taxes in Wartime. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1947. 8 pp.

Federal-State Tax Coordination. Washington, D. C., U. S. Treasury Department, Division of Tax Research, 1947. 61 pp.

Finance Commission of the City of Boston, Reports and Communications. Boston, Printing Department, 1947. 263 pp.

Financial Statement and Assessments

1946. Montreal, The Montreal Metropolitan Commission, 1947. 15 pp.

Governmental Debt in the United States 1946. By Wylie Kilpatrick and N. B. Gerry. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1947. 12 pp.

The Illinois Bond Financing. By Richard Yates Rowe. (Address before Municipal Forum of New York.) New York, the Forum, 1947. 9 pp. 50 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders, apply to John A. Keane, 30 Pine Street, New York.)

Liberty Taxes. By Bradford B. Smith. Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, The Foundation for Economic Education, 1947. 19 pp. 25 cents (discounts on quantity orders).

Municipal Finance—1947 Conference Issue. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1947. 64 pp. 50 cents.

Municipal Funds and Their Balance Sheets (Third Edition). Chicago 37, National Committee on Municipal Accounting, 1947. 76 pp. \$1.

New Tax Laws of Pennsylvania. 1947 General Assembly. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, 1947. 17 pp.

Presidential Address. By Rollin F. Agard. (Address before Municipal Finance Officers Association.) Chicago, the Association, 1947. 4 pp. 35 cents.

Report of the Motor Vehicle License Division of the Oklahoma Tax Commission for the Calendar Year 1945. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Research Division, 1947. 54 pp.

Revenue Administration 1946. Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Conference of the National Association of Tax Administrators, Seattle, Washington, August 5-7, 1946. Chicago 37, Federation of Tax Administrators, 1947. 73 pp. \$1.50.